SOCIAL CHANGE AND INTERGENERATIONAL SOLIDARITY:
MOTHER/DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIPS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY

By

MELANIE ANN WAKEMAN

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It is with a tremendous amount of love and gratitude
that I dedicate this dissertation
to my mother and my grandmother,
Rebecca T. Roman and Judith A. Jones.

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MOTHER/DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIPS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY

By

Melanie Ann Wakeman

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Chair: Constance L. Shehan
Cochair: Amy Mehraban Pienta
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This study examines generational differences in mother/daughter relationships. As

a result of changing opportunities and role expectations, especially regarding education,

work, and family, women's life course trajectories have shifted. Using the *Longitudinal

Study of Generations and Mental Health,* this study seeks to gain greater understanding

of the indirect impact social and structural changes have had on women's

intergenerational solidarity. Using Bengtson's measures of solidarity, daughters'

perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers is

examined during both young adulthood and midlife.

Several generations of women from the same families are included, capturing the

birth cohorts comprising the WWI Generation, the WWII Generation, the Baby Boom

Generation, and Generation X. The perceptions of solidarity of the Generation X

daughters as young adults in 1994 are compared with those of their mothers, the Baby

Boom daughters as young adults in 1971. The perceptions of solidarity of the Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife in 1994 are compared with those of their mothers, the World War II Generation daughters during midlife in 1971.

Univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses are carried out to understand how daughter's perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers have changed over the last half of the century. Results show several significant differences among the generations of women, both during young adulthood and midlife. Perceptions of associatonal solidarity, aspects of affectual solidarity, and consensual solidarity also differed during young adulthood for the Generation X daughters in 1994 compared with the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971. During midlife, associational solidarity and aspects of affectual solidarity were significantly different for Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1994 compared with World War II Generation daughters in 1971. Furthermore, ordinary least squares (OLS) regression indicates several significant findings pertaining to the effects of education, work, and family variables on perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity for Generation X daughters and Baby Boom Generation daughters during young adulthood, as well as generational differences between the women from 1971 to 1994. This was also the case among the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1994 and the World War II Generation daughters during midlife in 1971.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO STUDY

Introduction

The mother/daughter relationship has become one of the most salient of familial and social relationships in American society in the twentieth century. It is the focus of songs, poems, books, movies, and other cultural and social media. A major integral part of our culture is the bond between mothers and daughters. Understanding this relationship and its recent history is important as, women's lives continue to change. As women's life experiences have been altered from generation to generation, as a result of social change, what happens to intergenerational relationships among women – mothers and daughters? Furthermore, how are successive generations of mother/daughter dyads different from each other? This is the subject of this research.

This research sought to identify the stable and dynamic aspects of intergenerational relationships over time, to better understand the relationship between family solidarity changing social and structural forces. This research also attempted to determine whether familial role expectations shape dyadic relationships across generations; and if so, how these relationship differences might change over time, as a result of social distance between the generations.

Social and structural changes in the United States over the second half of the 20th century have led to changes in both family structure and social norms/role expectations for women. Both the social and economic position and attitudes of and about women in U.S. society have changed dramatically over this period (Moen, 1992; Anderson, 2000).

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Women's educational attainment has increased; women's labor force participation has increased; women's economic contribution to the household has increased; women are postponing marriage and having children later; fertility rates have declined; and prevailing ideologies about women's "place" have shifted. For example, changes in social structure are reflected in the beliefs and practices associated with women combining work and family roles, over the life course. These types of changes are expected to transform intergenerational relationships over time.

The profound legislative, economic, demographic, and ideological changes that have occurred have changed the life course trajectories of successive generations of women in families. Figure 1.1 illustrates the timing of each generation's experience of these sociohistorical changes during the twentieth century. It provides a visual representation of women's lives and how the timing of each generation of women's experience of these events has created new and different opportunities. This research examined the impact of these social changes on women's inter-generational solidarity.

<center>Specific Aims</center>

Early research assumed that "familial transmission and not social trends account for generational similarities" (Aldous, 1963; Aldous and Hill, 1965; Farber, 1966). Further, it has been proposed that continuity between the generations within the family is dependent upon the degree of cohesion existing between them (Aldous, 1963; Aldous and Hill, 1965). The assumption was that familial transmission is stronger than social trends. However, this idea may be a bit out dated because social and structural changes have been so profound. Women have encountered rapidly growing opportunities and shifts in expectations, as a result of the rapid social change that occurred in the twentieth century.

Thus, the argument can be made that familial relationships have become more complex and dynamic.

This study examined generational differences in daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers. Three aspects of solidarity were included. These aspects were; 1) associational solidarity, that is the extent to which family members interact with one another; 2) affectual solidarity, that is the extent to which family members are emotionally close to one another; and 3) consensual solidarity, that is the extent to which family members share similar values and world views (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991).

The first aim of this research was to understand how daughters from different generations perceive their relationships with their mothers during young adulthood. The first research questions is, "How have daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood changed, and what factors may be associated with this change?" The second aim of this proposed study seeks to understand how daughters from different birth cohorts perceive their relationships with their mothers during midlife. Thus, the second research question is, "How have daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers during midlife changed, and what may be associated with these changes?"

<div align="center">Overview of the Study</div>

A large and growing body of research has focused on understanding intergenerational family relationships, and family solidarity issues. As individuals continue to live longer, families will increasingly consist of multiple generations. The relationships between the generations, specifically their influence and functions, will also become increasingly more important. With regard to women, as a result of significant

social changes in roles and role expectations, women's intergenerational relationships have become all the more intriguing. The following is an outline of this research, focusing on social change and the influence on women's intergenerational relationships.

Theoretical Framework

Chapter 2 of this research discusses the major theories used in the study of aging families, intergenerational family relationships, and more specifically, women's intergenerational relationships. This study will focus on Intergenerational Family Solidarity and the Developmental Schism. As a result of the growing diversity in the functions and structure of Family today, as well as an increase in life expectancy, intergenerational relationships have become increasingly important. Intergenerational Family Solidarity Theory (Bengtson et al., 1984) is one of the major theoretical contributions to the area of family gerontology. From this theory, empirical measures have been constructed, allowing researchers to measure the degree of solidarity among different generations. These measures are outlined discussed in Chapter 3. However, more detail as to their use is discussed in Chapter 4.

The Developmental Schism (Fingerman, 1996) is a concept stemming from the life course perspective, and grounded in developmental psychology. This schism specifically addresses the interpersonal problems among intergenerational relationships between females. The Developmental Schism, and is role in this research is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Review of the Literature

Chapter 3 is a review of the literature. This chapter outlines changes in social structural forces over the last century, discusses the literature pertaining to intergenerational family relationships and women's intergenerational relationships, and

finally, outlines the hypotheses for this study. First, some of the major legislative, economic, demographic, and ideological changes are reviewed. Included in this review of legislative changes are the Equal Pay Act, Title IX, and FDA approval of the birth control pill. Education and occupational (status) attainment, changing work roles, family formation, and marital stability are discussed next. These changes have had an impact not only on women's roles, thus altering their life course trajectories over the successive generations, but they have also had an impact on society's attitudes concerning women as well. Thus ideological shifts occurring in the last half of the twentieth century are also included in this chapter.

Data and Methods

Chapter 4 is a detailed account of the methodological procedures carried out in this study. This study uses the *Longitudinal Study of Generations and Mental Health, 1971* data set [made accessible in 1990, machine-readable data files]. These data were collected by V. Bengtson and M.Gatz and are available through the archive of the Henry A. Murray Research Center of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusettes (Producer and Distributor). These data are from an ongoing study of aging families investigating changes in intergenerational family relationships. These data specifically examine intergenerational solidarity, based on perceived and actual levels of cohesion among family members, making it an ideal data set for this research. This chapter includes summary characteristics of the samples used from the data set, as well as the complex sample selection strategy used to create the sample of women for this study. Finally, this chapter outlines the analytic strategies used to better understand how changing opportunities and life course trajectories for

successive generations of daughters may have influenced their perceptions of their relationships with their mothers.

Analysis

Two analytic chapters are included in this project. Chapters 5 and 6, employ the same analytic strategy, thus including the results of the univariate, bivariate, and multivariate statistical analyses carried out in this study. Chapter 5 specifically examines the generational differences in daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers while they are young adults. The data analyzed for this chapter include Generation X daughters age 18 to 29 years, with data collected in 1994, and Baby Boom generation daughters age 18 to 29 years, with data collected in 1971. Chapter 6 specifically examines these generational differences among daughters during midlife. This chapter includes Baby Boom Generation daughters, ages 40 to 59 years, in 1994, and World War II Generation daughters, ages 40 to 59 years, in 1971.

Discussion and Conclusions

Chapter 7 is the final chapter in this study. Conclusions, implications, and future research potential are discussed in this chapter. First, the generational differences among women are discussed based on the findings from the analyses in chapters 5 and 6. Next, a review of the social distance occurring between the generations of women participating in this research is outlined. Third, levels of intergenerational solidarity, and the effects of the daughter characteristics and social distance measures are reviewed. In addition, a discussion of practical implications and future research are discussed in this chapter.

Conclusion

In sum, this project seeks gain a greater understanding of women's intergenerational relationships. Specifically, how social structural changes may have

influenced these relationships over the last half of the twentieth century as a result of their effect on the life course trajectories of women. Because intergenerational familial relationships are becoming increasingly more prevalent with the increased life expectancies today, it is important to develop a better understanding about women's intergenerational relationships.

This project expands the literature in this area by examining individual characteristics reflected in the social structural changes of the last century. Stemming from a life course perspective and using Bengtson's measures of intergenerational family solidarity, it is possible for this project to contribute to a growing body of knowledge surrounding aging families and women's intergenerational relationships.
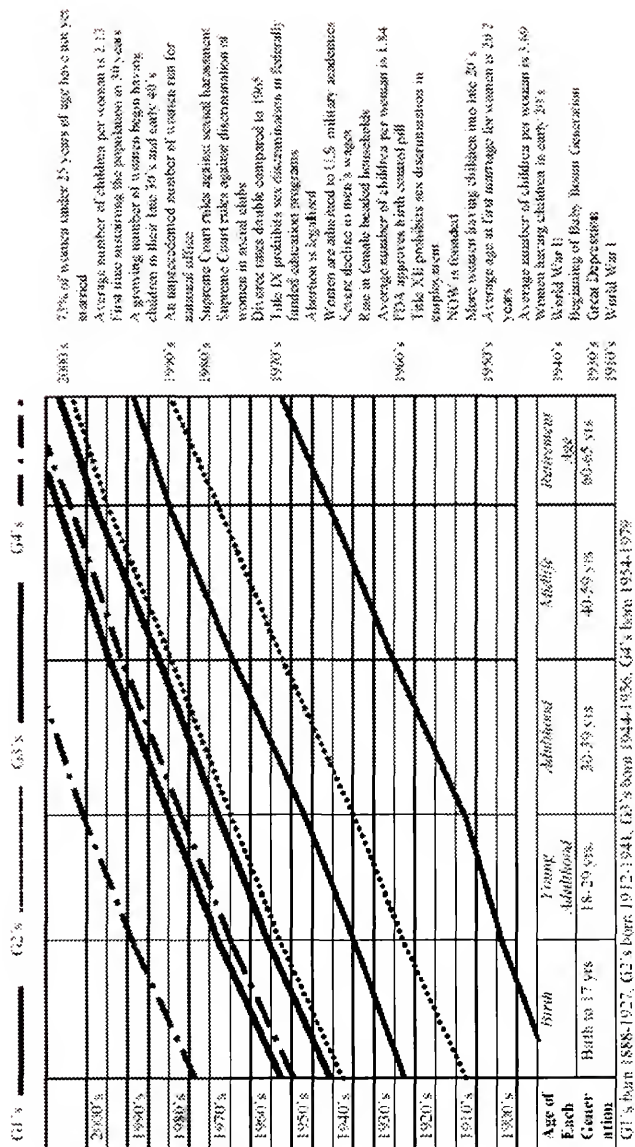
Figure 1.1: Major Historical Events Experienced by Each Generation of Women.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Aging families (and specifically, intergenerational relationships) have become an integral part of the field of social gerontology. Sociological theories and many family theories have been reexamined from the perspective of aging studies. As a result, new lines of thought have emerged that consider the effects of age (and the aged in our society) on the family and on family dynamics. This study centered on two guiding theoretical frameworks: Intergenerational Family Solidarity Theory; and the Life Course Perspective (in particular, the Developmental Schism hypothesis).

Intergenerational Family Solidarity Theory (Bengtson et al., 1984) is one of the major theoretical contributions to the area of family gerontology. From this theory, empirical measures for the present study were constructed, allowing researchers to measure the degree of solidarity among different generations. This study also used the Developmental Schism hypothesis (Fingerman, 1996), which stems from the life course perspective, and is grounded in developmental psychology. The Developmental Schism hypothesis is highly relevant to the present study because it addresses interpersonal problems in the intergenerational relationships of females. Before reviewing the guiding theoretical framework for the present study, here is an overview of aging theories, and theories that have been applied to the study of aging families.

Theories of Aging

There have been several theories developed to better explain aging related phenomena and relationships. Each of the following theories has made a significant contribution to the field of social gerontology.

Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory in aging is adopted from the micro-economic premise that interaction or exchange is based on the calculation of the rewards that they will gained. In the study of aging, relationships and interaction, are influenced by the resources of the individuals involved (Bengtson, Parrott, and Burgess, 1997). Resources in terms of social interaction are not just limited to money. Anything that elevates the status of that individual can be a resource. The key question becomes, what resources does each person bring to the table? In other words, do the benefits outweigh the costs of being involved with this person? Therefore, when people are considering interactions with older adults, they weigh the pros and cons of the interaction.

Because most older adults have fewer valued resources, there is less involvement with them. A shortcoming of social exchange theory is that it doesn't account for the benefits of relationships that cannot be logically explained. People get benefits from interactions with people when the obvious reasons for the exchange are not present. In addition, social exchange theory does not account for why some people have more resources than others.

Social Constructionist Theories

Social constructionist theories suggest that individuals negotiate reality through interactions with others. It postulates that people are active subjects, not passive participants. Such an emphasis on human structure means that social structures do not

impose social rules on us, but rather we create the social structures (Gubrium and Holstein, 1999). Constructionist theorists in the study of aging are interested in how aging individuals create their realities from their experiences and interactions as they go through aging-related phases. Constructionist theories do not fit the definition of a theory per se, as they "are not conceived as causal explanations of the social world, but instead focus attention on problems of meaning in everyday life (Gubrium and Holstein, p. 287). Constructionist theories are similar to social exchange theory because the primary focus is on the actions of the individual, and emphasis is placed on interactions with others. A shortcoming of constructionist theories in aging is the overemphasis on the individual at the personal level, and on the individual's constructions of reality. Without an insight into the influences of social forces, there is no context from which to understand social behavior and interaction.

Continuity Theory

This is the idea that the more older adults maintain a sense of continuity in their everyday living and activities, the fewer adjustments they will have to make in later life. Borrowing from the proponents of activity theory, which suggests that if older adults remain positive and active into and throughout "old age," they will experience greater life satisfaction (Havighurst, 1963), Robert Atchley developed continuity theory based on two dimensions of continuity: internal and external. The internal dimension of continuity is a personal dimension; and consists of peoples' values, world views, skills, and general life frameworks. The external dimension is a public dimension; and consists of role performance, status attainment, and everyday activities and hobbies. Atchley suggests that continuing to draw on ideas and activities that were successful in early life will benefit people moving into the stages of later life (Atchley, 1989).

Unlike exchange theory and the social constructionist theories, where the individual is the primary focus, the connection in continuity theory is to broader social life. Just as it is in social exchange theory, social interaction is an important focus. Part of external continuity would be for individuals to maintain those interactions that are positive, into older adulthood. Continuity theory posits satisfaction in later life correlates strongly to continuing important, successful interactions with others over time. A major critique of continuity theory is the "normalization" of the aging process (Becker, 1993). Since many of the activities of individuals are shaped by age-related social role expectations, continuity theory suggests the existence of a standard aging process that people go through. Furthermore, feminist researchers argue that this imposes one standard (a male standard) on people as they move through the life course (Browne, 1998; Calasanti, 1996).

Age-Stratification Theory

Matilda White Riley's (1971) age-stratification theory provides a framework for examining age and aging as a social process dependent on the forces of the larger social structures. The focus is on the status of older adults, and specifically on the ways in which statuses and roles are allocated in our society based on age. Age-stratification theory postulates that all societies break themselves down into age categories, ultimately ranking these categories into hierarchies based on larger social notions of importance.

Like social exchange theory, value is placed on the contributable resources people possess. However, age-stratification theory concerns the macro level. A key component of age-stratification theory is the age cohort: a group of people born at the same time, moving through the life course together. The age cohort places a social context around the individual's age, which contributes to the categorization of this particular group of

individuals. Often, members of these cohorts share similar viable resources, or perhaps, a lack of resources. Major limitations of age-stratification theory is that it assumes that a general consensus exists among society members about age-related statuses and power. It fails to recognize the power relationships inherent in our social structures. Moreover, there is no way to account for intracohort differences (such as race, class, and gender) that also contribute to inequity in allocating roles, statuses, and power.

Age-Integration Theory

Like age-stratification theory, age-integration theory also emphasizes the age cohort and the hierarchy of groups in our society, based on social factors (including age). Age-integration theory also recognizes the influence of interactions at the micro level. Borrowing from Durkheim's concept of solidarity and integration, gerontologists focus on factors associated with the elderly (Rosow, 1974). Rosow proposes that as a result of status and role losses due to age, the social networks of older adults suffer. If older adults could surround themselves with their peers, they would have a stronger sense of social solidarity, and ultimately greater life satisfaction. A limitation of age-integration theory, however is that (like age-stratification theory) it does not explain the heterogeneity within age cohorts. In addition, because of the arrangement of dominant social structures and the resulting social expectations, there will continue to be age strata in society. All societies divide the human life span into "seasons of life" (Hagestad and Nuegarten, 1985).

Political Economy of Aging

This theory picks up where age-stratification theory leaves off. Like age stratification theory, political economy of aging highlights structural influences on aging. The political economy of aging theory, however, emphasizes power relationships and

social struggles that influence the lives of older adults (Estes, 1991). The political

economy of aging theory also helps us to understand how the aged are defined and

treated. According to the political economy of aging theory, "old age" is socially

constructed, and created through power struggles. One drawback to this theory is that it

has no place for positive aspects in the lives of older adults. Focusing on the power and

the unequal distribution of status and resources is beneficial (Baltes, 1993). However,

advantages come with older age, which the political economy of aging theory does not

recognize.

These six theories have contributed a great deal to the study and understanding of

aging. In those instances where a particular theory falls short of reflecting some of the

patterns of behavior in social life, researchers in aging have been able to build on them

and develop other plausible explanations. Examining these theories helps us understand

them as independent explanations of age-related phenomena.

Theories of Aging Families

In the 1990s, a shift occurred in the complexity, malleability, and variety of family

connections in the second half of life, generating a more complex view of older families.

Theoretical advances related to the specific study of older individuals and families

brought greater focus to intergenerational relations over the entire life span (Dilworth-

Anderson, 1996; Allen et. al., 2001).   Some of the prevailing theories are described next.

Family Development Theory

Family development theory has been used to study predictable or normative

changes in families over time. Family development theory relies on basic assumptions

about the family, and the processes the family goes through over time. It is a

chronological, linear model, based on stages of family life. Family development theory

commenced from several theoretical perspectives (life-cycle categories, social-systems

theories, human-development theories, life-span and life-course theories, and life-events

and life-cycle theories) dating as far back as the early nineteenth century (Mattessisch

and Hill, 1987). Family development theory gained strength as a theoretical perspective

from which to study the family in the 1950s. Hill and Mattessich (1979; p. 174) proposed

the following definition of family development theory:

> Family development refers to the process of progressive structural differentiation
> and transformation over the family's history, to the active acquisition and selective
> discarding of roles by incumbents of family positions as they seek to meet the
> changing functional requisites for survival and as they adapt to recurring life
> stresses as a family system.

Similar to the life-course perspective in the study of individuals, in order to

investigate the changes families experience over time, a basic set of stages were created

to set a framework for the family life span. These are called "family life cycle stages."

Duvall and Hill (1948) proposed a three stage family "career," consisting of "changes in

family size, changes in age composition, and changes in the occupational status of the

breadwinner." Since then, other theorists have further developed this idea. Sociologist

Paul Glick was among the first to analyze families in terms of a life-cycle with five

stages that spanned the life course from first marriage to the death of a spouse (Glick and

Parke, 1965). One of the more commonly used developmental theories for family

sociologists is an eight-stage model (developed later also by Duval in 1977) in which

attention is paid to life stages of the children.

Family development theory reached its height of development in the 1960s. This

theory has given us important insight into the complexities of family life. Family

development theory is useful as an indicator of changes that occur within family life, and

calling attention to the changing nature of families, family formation, and family

relationships (Schwartz and Scott, 2000). However, a long-standing critique is that this framework cannot incorporate the variety of family forms that exist in today's society. Distinguishing among different types of families is difficult with this model. Moreover, this model perpetuates the notion that nontraditional families are pathological in their development. The family has evolved, and family forms are much more diverse. Couples who remain childless, are not represented in this model.

The family development model also assumes that the wife does not work until the children are old enough to attend school. This does not reflect current trends in motherhood. Of all women who return to work after having children, 65% have children less than 6 years old. This percentage is higher for African American women (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998). These family life-cycle stages also do not consider the possibility of stay-at-home fathers. While the numbers remain relatively low, a growing number of men choose to stay home and raise children. In 1997 there were almost 3 million father-only families, an increase of 220 % since the mid-1970s (Weldon, 1997).

Families that provide care for their elderly parents are also not represented in the family development model. Often, families that have elderly parents residing with them also have their own children still at home. This "sandwich generation" is becoming more common, as the cost of caring for older family members continues to increase. In addition, adult children are remaining or returning home for economic reasons. This has been termed the "cluttered nest." This arrangement has significant effects on family role expectations and relationships (Bengtson, et. al., 1996).

Finally, the current set of stages allows no way to account for divorced, single headed households, or couples who re-marry navigate the stages in family life. For

example, a couple that remarries, already having children from one or both of their previous marriages, never experience time alone with the spouse. At the very least, there is no "stage 1 – adjustment period." Several studies have shown that imposing the expectations of the traditional family onto remarriages leads to additional problems and higher rates of divorce (Bray et al. 1998). Other researchers have identified fundamental ways in which the remarried family differs from the traditional nuclear family (Beer, 1989; Papernow, 1993).

Another criticism of family development theory is that this framework does not allow for intracultural differences in family forms; and the scope of family development theory does not extend to cross-cultural differences in families. For example, distinct catalysts in the transformation and structure of African American families as a result of the shift from rural to urban living have "manifested in spousal relationships, family formation, the socialization of children, and techniques of coping with dissolution, especially divorce" (Wilkinson, p. 42). Mexican American families' concept of family refers to more than just the nuclear family. The average household size of Mexican American families tends to be large, "Mexican Americans are more likely to live in an extended family context" (Sanchez, 66). In addition, the socialization of children is very different for Mexican American families. Adolescence marks different behavior patterns between boys and girls (Locke, 1992).

Social Exchange Theory

While social exchange theory was previously discussed as an aging theory, it clearly has relevance in family studies. This theory is useful in studying changes in the family over time. The premise of social exchange theory is that all social interaction stems from social exchange among individuals. The work of the prominent social

exchange theorists did not originally focus on family issues. However, "since the 1960s, the exchange framework has methodologically worked its way into the mainstream of family studies" (Sabatelli and Shehan, p. 396). The development of social exchange theory can be traced to the works of George Homans and Peter Blau, and the primary assumption is that "humans choose between alternative potential relationships, or behaviors by ranking the actual or expected experiences associated with each and then selecting the best alternative" (Blau, 1964). Individuals are more likely to pursue relationships with those who possess desirable and valued attributes. Different resources and exchange processes are at work throughout family life. Thus, family exchange theory makes a valuable contribution toward helping us understand the variety of family behaviors and relationships over time.

Intergenerational Stake Hypothesis

Making use of both a developmental and a social exchange framework, another ideological structure useful in understanding family relationships over time is the "intergenerational stake hypothesis." This hypothesis was developed by Bengtson and Kuypers in 1971, as a way to understand and explain disparities in perceptions of intergenerational relationships among parents and children. Specifically, the premise of Giarrusso, Stallings and Bengtson's (1995, p.) hypothesis is:

> Contrasts in developmental needs explain differences in the "stake" each generation has in intergenerational cohesion, continuity and conflict. Furthermore, these differences in developmental stake explain contrasts in opinions and orientations between the generations, independent of any specific issues that appear to be the focus.

While a plethora of studies have used the stake hypothesis to explain empirical findings, clarifications have been made to account for some deficiencies. These include the application of two theories – developmental theory and exchange theory. Using the

stake hypothesis, these theories provide a longitudinal framework to analyze intergenerational stakes that exist in families over time (Giarusso, Stallings and Bengtson, 1995).

Socioemotional Selectivity Theory

Socioemotial selectivity theory is one of the most important theories to emerge in family gerontology in the last decade. This theory helps to explain the negative correlation between the frequency of social interaction and the degree of emotional closeness among family members as they age (Carstentsen, 1992; Allen et. al., 2001). As the functions of relationships change over the life course, adjustments to the intricacies of social networks among family members help "maximize social and emotional gains" (Allen et al., p. 134). Older people's preferences for emotionally meaningful social relationships are due to perceived limitations of time. Older adults become more selective about their social networks. In other words, older individuals become more selective about whom they spend time with, and with whom they share their emotions, as they age. This has limitations for studying familial relationships. Family relationships are too complex to assume that in later life, older adults have control in choosing to engage in interactions with family members.

Social Comparison Theory

One of the more important factors to be found in midlife and later life (in terms of navigating a successful transition into later life stages) is the notion of social comparison (Neugarten, 1968; Levinson & Levinson, 1996; Carr, 1997; Stewart & Vandewater, 1997; Carr, 2003). Social comparison is rooted in psychology and psychosocial behavior; and is a way of self-evaluating based on comparisons with other people, particularly with those individuals most significant in one's life (Festinger, 1954; Suls &

Mullen, 1982; Sulls & Wheeler, 2000). This comparison and self-evaluation has important consequences on self-esteem, and this is typically how social comparison is applied in the psychology literature. However, it is important to recognize that an alternative ramification of social comparison may be its effects on relationships between individuals and the people they compare themselves to.

Social comparison theory originally emerged in the early 1950s when researcher Leon Fesginger determined that it was important to people to hold correct assumptions about the world in which they live, but more specifically about their own abilities in this world (Festinger, 1954). Festinger's hypothesis focused on the idea of social comparisons as a need for self-evaluation. However, researchers later revealed other motives for social comparisons (Hakmiller, 1966; Carr, 2003).

In general, the social comparison hypothesis suggests a positively correlated relationship between evaluation with another person and the effects of this evaluation on self-esteem and emotional well-being (Stouffer, 1948; Festinger, 1954; Suls and Mullen, 1982; Carr, 2003). Thus, a comparison which yields a positive evaluation, will result in positive effects on self-esteem and positive social well-being, and vice versa for a negative evaluation (Carr, 2003).

Ultimately, grounded in the psychological literature, these comparisons and self-evaluations are used to measure self-enhancement outcomes in individuals (Suls & Wheeler, 2000; Carr, 2003). This is beneficial for psychologists. However, from a sociological standpoint, particularly in the interest of intergenerational family relationships, and more specifically, in terms of evaluating social change and women's

intergenerational relationships, social comparison could be useful when evaluating its effects on perceptions of interpersonal relationships between generations.

<u>Understanding Social Change and Women's Intergenerational Relationships</u>

While there are several meaningful and useful theories in the aging and family literatures, this study will employ two specific guiding frameworks, Intergenerational Family Solidarity Theory, and The Developmental Schism. Both are important in understanding how social structural change and changing life course trajectories for women over time have effected daughters' perceptions of intergenerational solidarity with their mothers in different life stages. Following is a discussion of each of these frameworks, and how each contributes to this study.

<u>Life Course Theory and the Developmental Schism.</u>

There has been a resurgence of the life-course perspective. Elder (1998) explained that this theoretical framework, with its focus on sociohistorical processes, and on individual time, satisfies two increasingly important considerations in studies of families: 1) how individuals change over time, and 2) how their transitions and trajectories are linked across family members. This perspective has been combined with other theories to help explain many facets of aging families (Elder, 1998; Allen et. al., 2001). The life course perspective is a broad multidisciplinary perspective. It is more of a way of thinking, or a paradigm, rather than a specific or explicit explanation of anything (Elder, 1998). Also, the life course perspective allows for the understanding of the impact of a multitude of social and historical factors and experiences on human development. This makes it an ideal perspective to understand the continuous process of aging related phenomena and the impact of social change.

Building from a life course perspective, Fingerman (1996) introduced the concept of "developmental schism." A perspective grounded in developmental psychology, this accounts for a key source of interpersonal problems between female intergenerational dyads, which tend to be the strongest and most lasting of filial relationships (Allen, et. al., 2001). Fingerman provides explanations of the mother/daughter bond at three levels of descending analysis: sociopolitical, familial, and psychological. She argues that social and political factors influence the strength of a mother/daughter relationship. However, these factors do not adequately explain the emotional content of their relationship. Moreover, they do not account for the investment of mothers and daughters in their mutual relationship (Fingerman, 2001).

The central idea of the developmental schism hypothesis is that the tensions between parents and children arise due to the fact that these different generations are at different developmental stages. As a result, each generation has different goals, and varying needs, which result in a difference of perspective. A disparity of roles, status, and cohort membership influence the development of different perspectives as well (Fingerman, 2001). While the developmental schism is psychologically based, it is takes the life course perspective to a more specific level of analysis, focusing on the role, status, and goal needs, which may be specific to cohort membership.

The developmental schism is useful for this project in that it recognizes the variety of aspects that are present in complex interpersonal relationships. Just as Bengtson's intergenerational family solidarity theory reflects behavioral, emotional and cognitive aspects of solidarity through its various empirical measures, Fingerman's hypothesis accounts for aspects of behavior and emotion as well. In addition, Fingerman is clear

about the significance of the social context and it effects on the mother/daughter
relationship.

Intergenerational Family Solidarity Theory.

Intergenerational Family Solidarity Theory is another major theoretical
contribution to the area of family gerontology. As a result of the diversity in function and
structure, intergenerational relationships become more important. Research from the
Longitudinal Study of Generations has been used to demonstrate the strengths of
multigenerational ties over time, and why it is necessary to look beyond the nuclear
family when asking whether families are still functional (Bengtson, 2001).

Interpersonal relationships among family members of different generations are
assessed based on six measures of solidarity: associational, affectual, consensual,
functional, normative, and structural (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991). These six
components of solidarity capture the numerous aspects of family interactions. Included
in these aspects of interaction are frequency of contact, emotional closeness, agreement
with regard to values and attitudes, helping and exchanging of resources, filial obligations
and commitment, and physical family structure. Table 2.1 provides a detailed table
describing these six measures.

Using these six dimensions of intergenerational family solidarity, five different
family typologies emerge. These typologies are based on where the types of solidarity
among intergenerational relationships are strong or weak, and thus help to explain the
myriad of families functioning in our society in a variety of ways (Silverstein and
Bengtson, 1997). The five types of family relationships are: 1) tight knit, 2) sociable, 3)
intimate but distant, 4) obligatory, and 5) detached (Bengtson, 2001). Breaking down the
overall idea of solidarity, or cohesion among family members, into manageable aspects,

can then be empirically measured and has been a major contribution to the study of aging families. It is important to note that intergenerational family solidarity theory focuses on solidarity, with little understanding of conflict (Connidis, 2001).

In this study, intergenerational solidarity forms the basis of analysis for understanding women's intergenerational relationships, by utilizing the empirical outcomes of this theory. Three of the six measures, associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity, are used to gain a better understanding of how daughters perceive their relationships with their mothers. By using these three measures of solidarity, interaction, emotion and cognitive aspects of the relationship are captured. Analyses will measure these perceptions at two life stages, and in each life stage, at two points in time. Chapter 4 gives a more detailed description of how these measures are used.

Conclusion

In summary, various theories on aging families suggest different outcomes in later life stages. The framework guiding this proposed study is the developmental schism, stemming from a life course perspective. The developmental schism predicts that parent-child relationships converge, as children become adults. To help understand this phenomenon, this study will use Bengtson's measures of intergenerational solidarity, which stem from intergenerational family solidarity theory. The developmental schism will be the foundation for understanding the developmental hypotheses. The impact of social and structural factors on mother/daughter relationships, and the complexity of these relationships is explained by the developmental schism as a result of mothers and daughters being at different developmental stages, and having different goals and needs (Fingerman, 2001). While the mother/daughter dyads in this proposed study are at the same developmental stage as defined by age – young adulthood and midlife – social

change suggests that the developmental stage has been affected. Each generation has a different perspective, affected by their roles, status, and birth cohort, thus having different goals and needs during the same life stages.

CHAPTER 3
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The average life expectancy in the United States has increased a great deal over the last century. This increase has led to multiple generations of families living longer together. As a result, there have been new family dynamics arising as well. Researchers have been interested in how these new dynamics have affected family life. In addition, several social structural changes occurring during the twentieth century have affected the way individuals live out their lives.

This chapter discusses the changes in social structural forces, outlining some of the social ramifications and their impact on individuals as well. The focus then turns to an overview of the research on intergenerational family relationships, then specifically on women's intergenerational relationships. Finally, the hypotheses for this study are outlined at the end of this chapter.

Changes in Social Structural Forces

The focus of this next section is to outline some of the major legislative, economic, demographic, and ideological changes that have occurred. These changes have helped to reshape the life course trajectories of women in this country over the last century.

Legislative Changes

The Equal Pay Act of 1963, and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits sex discrimination in employment, were the first major legislative steps toward ensuring equality in the workplace (Felder, 1999). Congress passed Title IX of the

Education Amendments of 1972, prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex in federally funded education programs (Stetson, 1992; Langley, 1994). These laws opened up doors for women, providing expanding opportunities in the educational arena and in the job market. In 1960, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved the birth control pill, and in 1973, abortion was legalized (Stetson, 1992; Langley, 1994). These two landmark decisions afforded women opportunities of choice not previously available in terms of family planning and decisions about child bearing. These legislative changes improved women's access to education and occupational attainment (see discussion below), and are reflected in the changing roles of women in other structural domains (i.e., marriage and family). These changes have had an impact on American society's attitudes concerning women's roles as well.

Education and Occupational (Status) Attainment

The number of women with a college degree has greatly increased during the second half of the last century. Since mid-century, the number of women graduating from high school and enrolling in college rose by twenty percent. The proportion of higher degrees being awarded to women also increased significantly, by an average of thirty percent for each degree level (U.S. Department of Education, 1999). The social trends in education have led to cohort differences in education, in that the younger groups of women are more likely to be more highly educated than past cohorts of women, often their mothers.

Changing Work Roles

As a result of legislative and social changes women across all ages are more likely to be employed (Moen, 1992). Americans have achieved greater social mobility over time. Biblarz, Bengtson, and Bucur (1996), also find this to be true with occupational

attainment within family lineage. However, the rate of upward mobility has slowed down with each succeeding generation. A review of the second half of the century presents the expanded range of life choices available to women (Gerson, 1984; Rexroat and Shehan, 1984). As a result of both continued persistence, as well as ongoing economic growth, women continued to gain ground. Today, the majority of women are employed, and make up close to half of the workforce (U.S. Department of Labor, 2000). As a result of educational opportunities, the occupational choices for women have expanded. Many more women hold jobs, and in a much greater variety of occupations than in the past. A strong presence of women has been established in previously male-dominated professions (Opdycke, 2000).

During the second half of the century, women have spent a large proportion of their adult lives employed. Each generation of women return to employment more quickly – or never leave it – after having children (Moen, 1992). The number of married women with children under age six in the workforce rose to almost 70 percent by 1997. Moreover, over half of all women with infant children are working (Moen, 1992; Hattery, 2001). Divorce, single parenthood, economic need, occupational opportunity and the affordability and availability of childcare are some of the social forces directly associated with maternal employment (Hoschschild, 1997; Brayfield, 1995). More than half of all women have a desire to successfully combine family life and work life (Roper Organization, 1995).

The mid-1970s also saw a severe decline in men's wages. Many women decided to go to work simply to make family financial ends meet, and to maintain their desired standard of living. By the end of the twentieth century, the dual-income family became

the norm (Opdycke, 2000). During the 1970s, there was also a rise in the number female-headed households contributing to the growing female workforce.

Family Formation

In 2000, the average age at first marriage was 25.1 years for women. In the mid-1950s, women were slightly over the age of 20 when they married for the first time (20.2). Just as the age at marriage has increased over the past 50 years, the proportion of women in their twenties and early thirties who aren't married has also increased. In 1960, twenty-eight percent of women aged 20 to 24 had not yet married. By 2000, this had increased to 73 percent (Fields and Casper, 2001).

Fertility rates have declined significantly since the post war, Baby Boom generation. The number of babies being born per woman dropped significantly from an average of 3.69 in the 1950s to 1.84 in the 1970s. In 2000, the number rose to an average of 2.13, which was the first time in thirty years that the number of births was above replacement level (Martin et. al., 2000).

Women have begun to delay having children in order to complete education and establish careers (McMahon, 1995). The median age of first time mothers has risen consistently over the past thirty years. The median at first birth increased to 24.6 years by the turn of the century (Martin et. al., 2000). In the 1950s, during the baby boom, most women were having children in their early 20's. This increased to the late 20's in the 1960s. Then in the 1970s and 1980s, a large number of women were giving birth for the first time in their early to mid 30's, with a growing number of women having children in their late 30's and even early 40's (Moen, 1992; Martin et. al., 2000).

Marital Stability

The United States has also experienced a dramatic rise in the rate of divorce. Sociocultural factors, like the increased economic independence of women, changing family functions, the changing nature and high expectations of marriage, fewer social, legal and moral constraints, have all contributed to a greater acceptance of divorce (White, 1991; Kurdek, 1993). From 1965 to the mid-1980s, the divorce rate doubled. By the end of the eighties, the divorce rate has stabilized at this higher level, where it remains today. The implications of divorce are seen in the high percentage of women in the workforce who have no other means of economic support (Moore and Sawhill, 1984; Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1988; Kurdek, 1993).

Ideological Shift

The economic period following World War II reemphasized the idea of the stay at home mom, by providing unprecedented economic stability for families. Thus, the intensive motherhood ideology became dominant at mid-twentieth century (Hays, 1996; Reskin and Padavic, 1994; Coontz, 1992). However, there were significant racial and ethnic differences in women's ability to adhere to this ideology (Segura, 1994; Hill-Collins, 1994). More recently, as a result of changing social and structural forces, attitudes regarding appropriate roles for women in the family have changed to reflect non- egalitarian ideals (Hays, 1996; Margolis, 2000). Today, social perceptions reflect the belief that working women can be good mothers, and especially those women who work out of personal desire, rather than solely out of economic need (Hattery, 2001; Hays, 1996; Klein, 1984).

These social changes have led to disparate life course trajectories for women of different birth cohorts. In the 1950s, women of the late World War II Generation and the

early Baby Boom Generation were in their young adult and adult years, getting married and starting a family at a much younger age compared to the Generation X birth cohort who were entering the young adult years in the 1980s. The Baby Boom Generation was the first birth cohort to take advantage of the educational opportunities presented by Title IX in the 1970s. In addition, women born later in the late Baby Boom years began postponing having children until their late thirties. Women of the Baby Boom generation also saw higher rates of divorce in the 1980s. The majority of Generation X women reach their 25th birthday still single, and are postponing childbirth until they are in their thirties. Educational and occupational opportunities, as well as social pressures, have led to the idea of a "career," where as older generations of women may have held "jobs" if it was financially necessary, but family life was the woman's main priority.

Intergenerational Family Relationships

Similarity of beliefs and values between parents and children has long been recognized as an important source of stability in society. Indeed, the transmission of sociolpolitical ideologies from one generation to the next permits continuity within families (Miller and Glass, 1989). However, the degree of parent-child similarity at any give point in time for any particular age cohort may be the product of contextual processes (Dannefer, 1984). Period effects that have a different impact on different cohorts and/or age groups may either separate the sociopolitical interests of different generations or draw them closer together (Miller and Glass, 1989).

Rossi and Rossi's (1990) classic study of the life course and intergenerational relationships (specifically parent-child relationships), indicates that as children grow older, new factors become relevant for intimacy. The once central indicators like parental affection, parental authority, and family troubles, shift to role and status

attainment markers such as finishing school, occupational attainment, marriage, and children (Rossi and Rossi, 1990). When the younger generations don't share similar roles or statuses, there is more intergenerational strain. For example, if the younger generations are not married, and/or don't have children, the difference in these statuses from their own parents create more of a strain in terms of a general understanding of life experience. When children, or the younger generations, move into normative roles, they share similar experiences, bringing the generations closer (Bengtson and Black, 1973; Aquilino, 1997). While the "role" might be the same, the experience of the "role" or the ramifications of that "role" are different for the succeeding generations as a result of the changes in social and structural forces. This is especially true for women. Thus, even when two generations hold similar roles there may be intergenerational conflict.

The nature of parent-child relationships in earlier years sets the stage for these relationships in later life. There is evidence of strong continuity in the perception of relationship quality in relationships from early years into adulthood. From adolescence to young adulthood, past relationship patterns continue to be played out. The effects of this are the strongest in measures of emotional closeness (Roberts and Bengtson, 1993; Aquilino, 1997; Thornton et. al., 1995; Tubman and Lerner, 1994; Rossi and Rossi, 1990). That is to say, emotional bonds tend to remain more stable over the life course, compared to other aspects of intergenerational relationships, such as frequency of interaction, shared values and world views, exchange of resources, meeting familial obligations, and geographic proximity of family members.

Intergenerational Differences Among Women

It was previously stated that the mother/daughter relationship is unique and significant. The strength of this bond sets it apart from other social relationships

(Fingerman, 2001). There are several factors that contribute to the complexity and the strength of the mother/daughter relationship. Gender socialization and gender differences, a shared status in society, and changes in the larger social structure allow for many distinct differences often apparent in mother/daughter relationships.

As gendered beings, women's relationships tend to be traditionally characterized by stronger emotional bonds. In addition, for women, the maternal role tends to be more psychologically salient for women, as they have been taught the importance of motherhood from a young age. These psycho-emotional elements play a key role in the mother/daughter relationship. Despite geographic obstacles, women tend to maintain strong ties to their parents (Bedford & Blieszner, 1997; 1995; Gottman, 1998).

The strong filial ties daughters maintain to their parents are also a result of gender socialization. While young males are encouraged to gain independence as part of childhood socialization, young girls are socialized to remain close with their mothers (Chodorow, 1994). In addition, daughters rather than sons are more likely to provide later life care for their aging parents. The turn of this century saw women over 60 years of age as far more likely to have an aging parent still alive compared to women at the turn of the last century (Moen, 2001). Life expectancy for women at birth is 4 to 12 years longer for women than for men. With women living longer, the likelihood that women will end up widowed and not remarry is probable. Hence, women who do not have a partner in later life will turn to their children, particularly their daughters for much of the support they need.

Despite a more patriarchal culture, it is the women who tend to be central to the kin networks in our society. Women often have great insight into the larger family structure,

and individual family members. The mother/daughter relationship is at the core. Thus, those families with strong mother/daughter connections often foster stronger ties among other family members. With marriage, women tend to bring their husbands into their family of origin.

As a result of the changing life course trajectories for women outlined previously in this chapter, relationships among women in general have been also been affected. With an increase in singlehood and divorce, as well as a decrease in fertility among women in successive generations, women are more apt to face aging alone (Fingerman, 2001; Moen, 2001). Continuing relationships with their own aging parents, particularly their mothers, likely becomes more important. Thus, just as aging mothers will to turn to their daughters in later life, as women age, they in turn are will rely on their mothers as well.

<div align="center">Statement of Hypotheses</div>

This section details this project's hypotheses. The hypotheses $H1_A$ through $H1_C$ will each be assessed in chapter five (young adulthood). Hypotheses $H2_A$ through $H2_C$ will each be assessed in chapter six (midlife).

Generation X and Baby Boom Daughters During Young Adulthood

In order to answer the first research question, "How have daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood changed, and what may be associated with this change?" several hypotheses will be tested. These hypotheses are outlined below:

- $H1_A$: Young adult daughters from Generation X have stronger (more positive) perceptions of associational and consensual solidarity compared to their Baby Boom mothers when they were young adults.

- $H1_B$: Affectual solidarity will not be affected by the daughters' social characteristics the same way associational and consensual solidarity will be.

- $H1_C$: Social distance between the Generation X daughters and their Baby Boom Generation mothers comprising each mother/daughter dyad is associated with associational and consensual solidarity, but not with affectual solidarity.

Baby Boom Generation and World War II Generation Daughters During Midlife

To answer the second research question, "How have daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers during midlife changed, and what may be associated with this change?" the following hypotheses will be tested:

- $H2_A$: During midlife, daughters from the Baby Boom Generation will have weaker (more negative) perceptions of associational and consensual solidarity compared to their World War II Generation mothers during midlife.

- $H2_B$: Affectual solidarity will not be affected by the daughters' social characteristics the same way associational and consensual solidarity will be.

- $H2_C$: Social distance between the Baby Boom Generation daughters and their World War II Generation mothers comprising each mother/daughter dyad is associated with associational and consensual solidarity, but not with affectual solidarity.

The above hypotheses focus on the importance of the larger social structural changes, and from a life course perspective, the changing roles of women as they move through the life course stages. These hypotheses reflect the complexity of the mother/daughter relationship over time. In addition, they explore the different aspects of intergenerational relationships and how they may be affected. The next chapter will provide a description of the data, sample, variables, and analytic models used in the analysis of this project.

CHAPTER 4
DATA AND METHODS

Introduction

For this study, analyses focus on generational differences during two life course stages. Generation X daughters' perceptions of their relationships with their mothers during young adulthood in 1994 are compared to Baby Boom daughters' perceptions of their relationships with their mothers during young adulthood in 1971, and Baby Boom Generation daughters' perceptions of their relationships with their mothers during midlife in 1994 are compared to World War II Generation daughters' perceptions of their relationships with their mothers during midlife in 1971. This study uses the *Longitudinal Study of Generations and Mental Health, 1971* data set [made accessible in 1990, machine-readable data files]. These data were collected by V. Bengtson and M. Gatz and are available through the archive of the Henry A. Murray Research Center of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (Producer and Distributor). These data are from an ongoing study of aging families investigating changes in intergenerational family relationships. These data specifically examine intergenerational solidarity, based on perceived and actual levels of cohesion among family members, making it an ideal data set for this study. Outlined below is a more detailed description of the data set.

Sample

The *Longitudinal Study of Generations and Mental Health* (LSOG) is an ongoing 31-year longitudinal panel study. The LSOG examines four generations of aging

families, seeking to investigate several things, including the changes in family social supports and their impact on the mental health of family members. The sample came from a large prepaid health maintenance organization in Southern California. The original participants comprising the first generation in this study were randomly selected on the basis of potential grandparenthood. This sample represents the demographic climate of Southern California at the time of the study's inception. The participants are generally white, and from middle class or economically stable families.

Originally, the study began in 1971 as a cross-sectional study, and included 345 three-generational families. Although it was not initially intended as a longitudinal study, a second wave of data were collected thirteen years later in 1984-85, after the researchers serendipitously came across the participant files from the original study. Additional waves of data were collected every three years after that (1988, 1991, 1994, 1997, and 2000). The three generations were followed through the first three time periods. At the fourth period of data collection in 1991, the fourth generation of these families was included in the study for the first time. Because 1994 was the most recent wave of data available through public archiving at Harvard, this research includes data from 1971 and 1994 time periods of the LSOG.

Using the standard distinction in aging family literature, the generational cohorts of women are comprised as follows: 1) the first generation, G1's, who are the mothers of the G2's, grandmothers of the G3's and later great-grandmothers of the G4's, 2) the second generation, G2's, the mothers of the G3's and later grandmothers of the G4's as well as being the daughters of the G1's, 3) the third generation, G3's, the granddaughters of the G1's and the daughters of the G2's and later mothers themselves of the G4's, and 4) the

fourth generation, G4's, who are the great-granddaughters of the G1's, granddaughters of the G2's, and daughters of the G3's.

Three sets of mother-daughter dyads, representing four generations in the same family, will be examined in this study. The oldest generation, the G1's, consists of women born prior to the Great Depression – some during the late nineteenth century – and who were coming of age before World War II (1888-1927). The second generation, the G2's, were all born after the turn of the twentieth century, some during the Great Depression, but before World War II (1912-1941). The third generation, the G3's, were all born after World War II, and represent the first of the Baby Boom generation (1944-1956). The fourth generation, the G4's, somewhat overlap with the Baby Boom women, they were born between the years 1954 and 1979. The age range for the women in the LSOG sample, and their movement as they age, through the social structural changes previously discussed as occurring in the twentieth century, can be visually interpreted by referring to figure 1.1 in Chapter 1.

The Generation X women were moving through the young adult life stage during the eighties and early nineties. Their Baby Boom mothers experienced young adulthood from the late 1950s to early 1970s. The Baby Boom, as they move through the life course, began experiencing midlife in the late eighties-early nineties, continuing through today. Their World War II generation mothers, however, experienced this life stage as early as 1950 through to the early eighties.

<u>Sample Selection Characteristics</u>

There were several steps involved in preparing the LSOG data for this study. For the analysis of daughters during young adulthood, only those Generation X and Baby Boom generation women age 18 to 29 at their respective time periods (1994, 1971) were

selected for this study. For the analysis of daughters during midlife, only those Baby Boom and World War II generation women age 40 to 59 at their respective time periods (1994, 1971) were selected for this study. After the women for each set of analyses were selected based on the appropriate age, they were then selected based on whether or not they responded to the specific questions which comprise the dependent variables, associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity. Those women who did not answer any of the questions pertaining to the solidarity measures were eliminated from the analyses.

In addition, once the women were selected on the basis of having responded to the solidarity questions, it was necessary to ensure that only one daughter from each family, be included in the analyses to eliminate intrafamilial bias. First, all of the women who had no sisters were automatically included. Of the remaining women, one sister from each family was randomly selected. Finally, the last step for the sample selection of women to be included involved matching these women with their mothers. Some women were initially interviewed for the LSOG because their fathers were participants, and some women did not have daughters of their own, but rather sons. If the daughter did not have a mother who also participated in the LSOG, they were excluded from the analyses.

The numbers presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 represent the actual number of women in the sample from each generation included in this study. Because there were several criteria for being included in the analyses for this study – appropriate age at the time of data collection, necessary responses to the solidarity questions representing the dependent variables, having only one daughter represented from each family, and a match to a "study mom" – and the fact that the LSOG sample size is relatively small to begin with, the analytic samples are somewhat small.

Daughters During Young Adulthood

Table 4.1 illustrates the numbers of women from both generations during young adulthood, and how these numbers decrease as a result of the sample selection process. The original sample of Generation X daughters, the G4's in 1994, contains 200 women. Once the women are selected on the basis of age, 18 to 29 years, for the young adulthood analyses, this number drops considerably to 136. Of the Generation X women in this age range, there were not any excluded on the basis of no response to the dependent variable questions regarding solidarity, thus the number remains at this stage at 136. However, when randomly selecting only one daughter from each family, the number of women again drops dramatically to 88. Finally, when selecting on the basis of a match to a study mother, the number drops to 82. Similarly, the Baby Boom daughters, the G3's in 1971, start with an overall sample size of 442. The most significant drop among this sample is when selecting for the young adult analyses. The sample size drops to less than half, 185, when only those women 18 to 29 are included. There were six women who did not answer any of the solidarity questions, thus, the sample dropped to 179 at this stage in sample selection. When randomly selecting only one daughter per family, there is a drop again to 135. Finally, based on matching these daughters to a study mother, the number of Baby Boom daughters in young adulthood included in this study is 124.

Daughters During Midlife

The numbers of women in both generations during midlife are presented in Table 4.2. The number of Baby Boom daughters, the G3's in 1994, originally participating in the LSOG is 410 women. For the midlife analyses, this number drops to 230 women age 40 to 59. Only three women were excluded as a result of not answering any of the dependent variable solidarity measures, reducing the sample at this stage to 227. After

randomly selecting only one daughter from each family, the number is reduced to 150 women. Ultimately, after matching each daughter to a study mother, an additional 42 are eliminated, and the final sample size for Baby Boom daughters in midlife is 108. There are initially 377 World War II women, G2's in 1971, in the LSOG study. When selecting daughters based on age for the midlife analyses, the sample is reduced to 259 women. Several of the World War II daughters were eliminated from the analyses based on not responding the questions comprising the measures of solidarity, further reducing the sample to 209. The number drops to 182 once only one daughter is randomly selected from each family. After matching the daughters to a study mother, the final sample included 143 World War II generation women in the midlife analyses.

Measurement

Various measures were constructed in order to model the relationship between sociodemographic variables pertaining to education, work, and family, and perceptions of solidarity. Because certain questions were not asked of all LSOG participants at each time period, specific measures were selected that were comparable across the two time periods, 1971 and 1994, when asked of each generation of women. The measures of solidarity used for the dependent variables are measures previously used in many empirical studies, and are described next.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables in this study are those variables which measure the three aspects of intergenerational solidarity being examined: *associational solidarity, affectual solidarity, and consensual solidarity.* Nominal definitions and empirical indicators used to measure these constructs are found in Table 4.2 (Bengtson and Schrader, 1982; McChesney and Bengtson, 1988; Bengtson and Roberts, 1991). The specific measures

for this proposed study will use Bengtson's constructs of intergenerational solidarity (Mangen, Bengtson and Landry, 1988) and are outlined in the next section. Appendix A includes a detailed matrix describing the wording for each question asked of each generation at each time period, and includes all response categories. These measures have been selected, in part, because of comparability across the LSOG study waves and the generations of women included in this research. They were also chosen because within the generational dyads, a variety of behavioral components – associational, affectual, and cognitive – are reflected by these three aspects of family solidarity (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991).

Associational solidarity. Associational solidarity is the amount and frequency of interaction among family members. The more contact or interaction among family members, the more solidarity within the family based on this solidarity aspect (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1977). This study uses the frequency of various types of interaction – face to face, telephone, and mail – to determine the level of associational solidarity among these four generations of women. For each of the three types of interaction, the following question was asked, "During the past year, how often were you in contact – in person, by phone, by mail – with your mother?" These questions were asked of the G1's through G3's in 1971, and G1's through G4's in 1994. However, the response categories at each time period differ somewhat (see Appendix A). Each question was based on a scale ranging from 1 to 8, with 1 being never or not at all, and 8 being daily or almost every day. The three measures of associational solidarity combine to make an overall measure with a range of 3 to 24.

Affectual solidarity. Affectual solidarity refers to the level of emotional closeness that exists among family members. It is the perception of "positive sentiments" – warmth, understanding, trust, etc... - family members have for each other (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991). The LSOG asks a set of questions, relating to affect among family members. These questions are as follows: 1) "Taking everything into consideration, how close do you feel is the relationship between you and your mother?" 2) How is communication between you and your mother, that is how well can you exchange ideas or talk about things that really concern you at this point in your lives?" 3) Overall, how well do you get along with your mother at this point in your life?" 4) "How well do you feel your mother understands you?" and 5) How well do you feel you understand your mother?" These five questions were asked of the G1's through G3's in 1971, and G1's through G4's in 1994. Each item is measured on a 6-point scale ranging from "1=not very much" to "6=extremely." By incorporating these five questions into one scale, the measure of affectual solidarity becomes a continuous variable with a range of 5 to 30 by simply summing responses across the set of questions.

Consensual solidarity. This aspect of intergenerational solidarity is the degree to which there are similar values and beliefs about world views among family members of different generations. Bengtson's construct of this aspect of solidarity is measured by a single item. The following question was asked of the G1's through G3's in 1971, and the G1's through G4's in 1994. "In general, how similar are your views about life to those of your mother?" This item is measured by a 6-point scale ranging from "1=extremely different" to "6=extremely similar."

Independent Variables

The independent variables in this study include those sociodemographic variables, which reflect the generational differences among these women as a result of changing social roles and role expectations with regard to education, work, and family. Not all of the women were asked the same questions at each time period. As a result, the independent variables are limited to those common questions pertaining to education, work, and family indicators. Furthermore, a relatively small set of the most salient variables pertaining to education, work and family have been selected because the sample size for this research has limited the number of covariates which could be included in the OLS regression analyses.

Age. This is the daughter's actual age in years at the time of the LSOG data collection. For the analyses in this study, the ages range from 17-24 for the daughters during young adulthood, and 40-59 for the daughters during midlife. Even though the age range for the women is the same when comparing across the generations during each life stage, the ages with in these age ranges vary. Therefore, in the multivariate analyses, age is used as a control variable in each of the four models.

Education level. This is the daughter's highest level of education at the time of LSOG data collection. In 1971, this variable was a categorical variable with a range of 1 to 8. The lowest education category, 1, being "grade school (1st through 6th), and the highest, 8, being "a post-graduate degree (Ph.D., DDS, MD, JD). In 1994, the variable was again an eight category variable, reflecting the level of education at that time, however the answer categories varied from those offered in 1971. The variable ranged from 1 to 8, with the lowest category being "an 8th grade education or less," and 8 being "a post graduate degree." For this research, the education variable has been reconstructed

to reflect whether or not the daughter has less than or equal to a high school degree, or more than a high school education. The reference group for the regression analyses is "more than or equal to a high school degree."

Employment status. This variable is indicative of the daughter's employment status at the time of data collection. In 1971, this variable asked the women if they were working for pay. It was a 5 category, nominal variable, including "1=employed full time," "2=employed part time," "3=employed full time with additional part time," "4=unemployed, seeking pay," and " "5=not employed (homemaker, retired, not seeking)." In 1994, this same variable was a 6 category variable. At this time, the categories included "1=no, retired," "2=no, temporarily out of work," "3= yes, temporary job," "4=yes, part time," "5=yes, full time," and "6=no, housewife." For the purposes of this research, the employment status variables has been recoded as a dichotomous variable, indicating whether or not the daughter is employed or does not work at the time of the LSOG data collection, thus comparing those women who work to those who do not. The reference group for this variable is "does not work."

SEI score for occupation. This score is a numeric value assigned to the different occupations that the women have. The score represents the value for that occupation at each LSOG data collection period. Because not all of the women worked, several women did not have a score assigned to them, further reducing the sample size when this variable was run in the models. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, this variable was recoded as a nominal variable, with three categories, "not working, no score," "low SEI score," and "high SEI score." Low and high SEI scores were calculated using the median SEI score, with all women in the LSOG study included, for each year of data collection.

In 1971, the median SEI score for women in the LSOG study was 45.00, therefore, those women included in the World War II Generation sample during midlife, and the Baby Boom Generation sample during young adulthood were coded as low SEI if they had a score below the median, and as high SEI if they had a score equal to the median or above. In 1994, the median SEI score for occupation for women in the LSOG study was 38.51. Women included in the Baby Boom Generation sample during midlife, and Generation X women during young adulthood were coded as low SEI if they fell below this score, and as high SEI if they had a score equal to or above this score. The reference group for this variable in the OLS regression analyses is "low SEI," thus a comparison is made between the high and low scoring women.

Income. This variable has been adjusted to reflect annual income in 1994 dollars, and represents the total household income for the daughters. There were several missing cases with regard to this variable. Therefore, mean scores for income were imputed so that that every woman had an income score represented. Scores were imputed based on education and marital status, using the original LSOG categories for these measures to ensure an appropriate range of variability among the sample of women.

Marital status. This is the daughter's marital status at the time of LSOG data collection, and represents the woman's current marital status. In 1971 this measure consisted of 6 marital status categories. They were "1=single, never married," "2=engaged," "3=married," "4=permanently living with someone, not legally married," "5=widowed," and "6=divorced or separated." In 1994, this same variable consisted of 7 categories, including "1=married," "2=separated," "3=divorced," "4=widowed," "5=live with as married," "6=stopped living with as married," and "7=single, never married."

This variable has been reconstructed to indicate whether or not the daughter is married, living as married, or not married. There were no women among the World War II Generation daughters during midlife who were living together as married. For the multivariate analyses, the reference group for this variable is "not married."

Age at first marriage. This variable reflects the timing of marriage for the daughters. It is not reflective of the actual age of the daughters at first marriage, but whether or not the daughter married early or married later, relative to the general social trends of the time. Because not all of the women were married, simply using the age created several missing cases, further reducing the sample size. Therefore, this variable is a three category variable including "not married," "married earlier," and "married later." For the multivariate analyses, the reference group "not married." Age breakdowns for early and late were based on the average age of first marriage at the time of marrying age for these women. For the Baby Boom Generation and Generation X women during young adulthood, this was at the time of data collection, 1971 and 1994 respectively. For the World War II Generation and Baby Boom Generation During Midlife, this was the average age at first marriage when they would have been young adults, 1971 for the Baby Boom Generation women, and 1948 for the World War II Generation women. Among those Baby Boom Generation daughters who were married during young adulthood, none were married later. Thus the reference group for the young adult analyses is comprised of those daughters who married earlier, allowing for comparison of Generation X daughters who married early versus late in 1994, as well as those who were not married to those who married early. But for Baby Boom young adult daughters, the comparison is basically between those who were married (early) versus

those who were not married. In the midlife analyses the reference group is comprised of those daughters who married later. Because there were no World War II Generation women who had never married, the comparison is among the married women, between those who married earlier versus those who married later.

Children. This variable indicates whether or not the daughter has children at the time of LSOG data collection, thus reflecting a current status for this family measure. It is a dichotomous, yes/no variable. The reference group for this variable is "has children."

Age at first child. This variable reflects the timing of childbearing for the daughters who have children. It is not reflective of their exact age at first child, but rather did they have their first child earlier or later relative to the general social trends at that time. Because not all of the women had children, simply using the age created several missing cases, further reducing the sample size. Therefore, this was recoded as a nominal variable, including "no children" "had first child earlier," and "had first child later." The reference group for this variable is "does not have children." For the World War II Generation women during midlife, age at first child is not available, therefore, the women without children are compared to women who have children. Age breakdowns for early and late were based on the average age at first child during young adulthood for these women. For the Baby Boom Generation and Generation X women during young adulthood, this was at the time of data collection, 1971 and 1994 respectively. For the World War II Generation and Baby Boom Generation During Midlife, this was the average age at first child when they would have been young adults, 1971 again for the Baby Boom Generation women, and 1948 for the World War II Generation women. For the young adult analyses, the reference group is comprised of those daughters who do not

have children. In the midlife analyses, there is no distinction between timing of first child because there were no calculations available for the World War II Generation daughters in 1971. Therefore the reference group in this analysis is comprised of those women who have children, comparing them only to those who do not.

Social Distance Measures

For the Generation X daughters during young adulthood, and the Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife, additional analyses include examining the effects of social distance between these daughters and their mothers. The presumption here is that the distance between the daughter and their mothers has a unique effect, and not only the daughters' absolute education, work or family status. Again, due to the small samples of women used in this research, the models for the social distance measures are interaction effects between the daughters' characteristics and their mothers' characteristics. The variables used in these analyses are as follows.

Education level. The social distance measure for education level measures an interaction effect between two-two category variables, daughters' education and her mothers' education. This created four categories, both had a higher level of education, both had a lower level of education, the daughter had more education, and the mother had more education. For the young adult analysis, a three category variable was created, including "daughter has more education than her mother," "mother has more education that the daughter," and "both the daughter and mother have the same level of education." The reference group for the young adult analyses examining the effects of social distance on Generation X daughters' perceptions of solidarity during young adulthood is "daughter has more education than her mother." For the midlife analysis, a four category variable was created, including "daughter has more education than her mother," "mother

has more education than the daughter," " both the daughter and her mother have a low level of education," and "both the daughter and her mother have a high level of education." The reference group for the midlife analyses examining the effects of social distance on Baby Boom daughters' perceptions of solidarity during midlife is "daughter has more education than her mother."

Work status and SEI score. This measure combines the employment status and SEI score for occupation. After running a crosstabulation to examine the nine possible categories of women emerged. Five were chosen for both the young adult and midlife analyses. These are, "daughter works and has a high sei score and her mother does not work," "mother works and has a high score, daughter does not work and therefore has no score," "both mother and daughter work and have low SEI scores," "both have no score because neither work," and the final category includes "all others." The reference group for this measure for the multivariate analyses is "daughter works, high score, mother does not work." The reference group for both the Generation X daughters in young adulthood, and the Baby Boom daughters during midlife is "daughter works and has a high score, mother does not work and therefore has no score."

Income level. When measuring the social distance between the daughters and their mothers with regard to income two-two category dummy variables were created. Using the median score for income for all women in the LSOG study in 1971 and 1994 as a cut off point, those women who fell below this level of income were considered having lower income, and those women who fell at or above this level were considered to have higher income. This created four categories of women, one in which both daughter and mother had high levels of income, one in which they both had low levels of income, one in which

the daughter had a higher level of income than her mother, and one in which the mother had a higher level of income than her daughter. For both the young adult and the midlife analyses, a three category variable was created, and include "daughter's income is high while the mother's is low," "mother's income is high while the daughter's is low," and "both daughter and mother have the same income level." The reference group for both the Generation X daughters during young adulthood and the Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife is "daughter's income is high, while the mother's income is low."

Marital status and timing of marriage. For this social distance measure, the marital status and timing of marriage were combined. After running a crosstabulation to examine the numbers of women in each of the nine possible categories, four were selected to examine social distance among daughters and their mothers for both the young adult and midlife analyses. They are "daughter is single/never married, mother married early," "daughter married later, mother married early," "both daughter and mother married early," and "all others." The reference group for this variable for both the Generation X daughters during young adulthood and the Baby Boom daughters during midlife is "both daughter and mother married early."

Children. This measure compares daughters to their mothers with regard to who has children. Because only those mothers included were the ones matched to their daughters, thus having children of their own, there are two categories of women included, "both have children," "mother has children, daughter does not." The reference group for both the Generation X daughters during young adulthood and the Baby Boom daughters during midlife is "both have children."

Analytic Model

In order to evaluate the research questions and hypotheses previously mentioned, the analysis in this study encompasses several stages. Each stage is described in detail to follow, as well as a brief description of the analytic chapters. As previously illustrated in Figure 4.1, each generation of women experienced the social and structural shifts of the twentieth century during different ages and life course stages. As a result, intergenerational differences among women exist. Figure 4.2 illustrates the conceptual framework for this study.

In order to examine the first research question: "How have daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood changed, and what may be associated with this change?" the analyses will begin with a comparison of means across the samples of daughters during young adulthood using the T-test statistic. Perceptions of the Generation X daughters in 1994 will be compared to the perceptions of the Baby Boom daughters in 1971. In addition, OLS regression models will be with the daughter characteristics and social distance measures as independent variables. This analysis will help to understand how social distance between mothers and daughters might affect daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, consensual solidarity, and how this might change over time.

The same analyses will be done to answer the second research question: "How have daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers during midlife changed, and what may be associated with this change?" Perceptions of the Baby Boom daughters in 1994 will be compared to the perceptions of World War II daughters in 1971.

Following are the statistical models for each set of OLS regression analyses:

Model 1: $IS_{AS,AF,CO} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ (age)} + \beta_2 \text{ (education)} + e$
Model 2: $IS_{AS,AF,CO} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ (age)} + \beta_2 \text{ (work indicators)} + e$
Model 3: $IS_{AS,AF,CO} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ (age)} + \beta_2 \text{ (family indicators)} + e$
Model 4: $IS_{AS,AF,CO} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ (age)} + \beta_2 \text{ (education)} + \beta_3 \text{ (work indicators)}$
$+ \beta_4 \text{ (family indicators)} + e$

Where IS represents intergenerational solidarity, sub AS, AF, and CO represent the

three measures of solidarity, associational, affectual, and consensual, and indicates that

these models are the same for each analysis on these dependent variables. Age is

included as a control variable in all four models. Education is included in the first model.

The work characteristics included in the second model are work status, SEI for

occupation, and income. The family characteristics comprising the third model are

marital status, age at first marriage, whether or not the daughter has children, and age at

first child. The fourth model includes all three subsets of variables, education, work and

family.

For both the young adult and midlife analyses, social difference scores are

examined for one of each of the generations of women in of the analytic chapters. These

analyses compare the younger generation of women at each time period to their mothers.

Included in the first analytic chapter, are the Generation X daughters during young

adulthood and the social distance in relation to their Baby Boom Generation mothers

when they were young adults. The social distance analyses included in the second

analytic chapter, are Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife and the social

distance in relation to their World War II Generation mothers when they were in midlife.

Two sets of analyses are carried out in each of the analytic chapters. The first set of

analyses illustrates the univariate statistics describing the social distance variables for the

daughters and their mothers. The second set of analyses in each of the two chapters

includes multivariate analyses using OLS regression. These analyses examine the effects

of the distances between the daughters and their mothers on the daughters' perceptions of

associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity during each of the two life stages –

young adulthood for the Generation X daughters in 1994, and midlife for the Baby Boom

Generation daughters in 1971. The following are the statistical models for each set of

OLS regression analyses:

$$\textbf{\textit{Model 1}}:\ IS_{AS,AF,CO} = \beta_0 + \beta_1\ \text{(education)} + \beta_2\ \text{(work indicators)}\ + \beta_3\ \text{(family indicators)} + e$$

Sample Limitations

While the LSOG data is ideal for this research project in many ways, there are

limitations with regard to this research. The study sample is region specific, and the

participants are relatively racially and economically homogenous. In addition, as a result

of sampling restrictions, the sample may be slightly more advantaged in terms of more

positive familial relations. Because successive generations are only considered as

participants based on the participation of a prior generation, those descendents who are

not in close contact with their family members may have self-selected out of participation

in the *Longitudinal Study of Generations.*

Another limitation of this study is the sample size. The original *Longitudinal Study

of Generations* sample was for the most part reduced by half for this proposed research,

to include only women (N=1,071 at Time 1). Furthermore, once the dyads are created

based on daughters, who have mothers participating in the study, and attrition is

accounted for, the sample size for the analyses gets further reduced. Having a larger

sample to begin with would have been beneficial for this proposed research.

The inability to include the mother's perceptions of solidarity with their daughters

is also a limitation. Comparing these perceptions would have been beneficial to

understanding these mother daughter dyads. This was not possible with these data because not every generation of mothers were asked the same questions, nor were these questions asked at each time period.

Table 4.1. Numbers of Generation X and Baby Boom Generation Daughters during Young Adulthood at Each Stage of Sample Selection.

	Generation X Daughters (G4's – 1994)	Baby Boom Daughters (G3's – 1971)
Original Sample of Women	200	442
Selected Daughters Age 18-29	136	185
Removed Daughters with No Responses on ANY of the Dependent Variables	136	179
Randomly Selected One Daughter from Each Family	88	135
Matched Each Daughter with a Mother in the Study	82	124

Table 4.2. Numbers of Baby Boom Generation and World War II Generation Daughters during Midlife at Each Stage of Sample Selection.

	Baby Boom Daughters (G3's – 1994)	World War II Daughters (G2's – 1971)
Original Sample of Women	410	377
Selected Daughters Age 40-59	230	259
Removed Daughters with No Responses on ANY of the Dependent Variables	227	209
Randomly Selected One Daughter from Each Family	150	182
Matched Each Daughter with a Mother in the Study	108	143

CHAPTER 5
GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN DAUGHTERS' PERCEPTIONS OF
ASSOCIATIONAL, AFFECTUAL, AND CONSENSUAL SOLIDARITY IN YOUNG
ADULTHOOD

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine generational differences in daughters'

perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers

during the young adult life stage. This chapter specifically explores the role of education,

work, and family in influencing young adult daughters' perceptions of solidarity with

their mothers. Two generations are compared – young adult women from Generation X

in 1994 and young adult women from the Baby Boom Generation in 1971.

This chapter presents the results of several sets of analyses – bivariate and

multivariate. Descriptive sample characteristics are presented first (a bivariate

comparison of two generations) for each generation in young adult. Education, work and

family characteristics of each generation are calculated. Tests for differences across the

two generations when they were young adults are calculated as well. The second set of

analyses calculates levels of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity for each

cohort when in young adulthood. Again, tests for differences in reported solidarity with

mothers across the two generations when they were young adults are calculated as well.

The next set of analyses included in this chapter are multivariate models estimating the

effects of the independent variables on the three measures of solidarity. We employ a

nested modeling strategy where more exogenous variables are entered into the model first

(education) and subsequent models explore more proximate factors (work and family

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characteristics). The first model includes age, as a control variable, and one's level of education. The second model includes the work related variables of employment, socioeconomic status for occupation, and income. The third model includes those variables related to family – marital status, age at first marriage, and age at first child. The fourth and final model includes all of the variables – education, work and family. Thus, we approximate the contribution each set of variables has in explaining levels of solidarity as each set is added to the model.

The final set models are OLS regression models estimated for Generation X daughters examining the effects of social distance (as compared with their mothers) on perceptions of daughters' solidarity. For example, we examine whether being married later in life than one's mother was married decreases daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mother. We do not estimate a comparable set of models for the Baby Boom daughters as the data do permit social distance measures to be constructed as there are no data on the mothers of this generation.

<div align="center">Descriptive Statistics–Independent Variables</div>

Table 4.1 includes the descriptive statistics for the demographic characteristics of Generation X and Baby Boom daughters during young adulthood. The quantitative variables are represented by the mean and the standard deviation, while the qualitative variables are represented by the percentage of women, accounting for each of the variable's attributes. T-tests were done to compare the women from each generation during young adulthood across the quantitative variables, and chi square was used for comparison of the qualitative variables.

Results

Table 5.1 presents the descriptive statistics for the independent, sociodemographic variables that comprise the daughter characteristics for each generation of women. There are 82 Generation X daughters and 124 Baby Boom Generation daughters included in the sample of young adults. Results suggest that there are significant differences with regard to sociodemographic characteristics pertaining to education, work and family between the Generation X daughters who were young adults in 1994, and the Baby Boom Generation daughters who were young adults in 1971. Although the age range was the same for both generations (18 to 29), the sample of Generation X daughters are older (mean age = 21.66) than the sample of Baby Boom daughters (mean age = 20.48) (p< .05). With regard to education, there is also a statistically significant difference between the two generations of daughters (p<.01). More Generation X daughters in 1994 had moved beyond a high school degree, 72 %, compared to the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971, where only 60% had more than a high school education, and 40% had a high school degree or less.

Turning next to work related characteristics, results show that there are differences across the generations. Fewer women from the Generation X sample of daughters worked in 1994 (64.6 percent) as compared to daughters from the Baby Boom Generation in 1971 (66.1 percent) (p<.05). However, there were more Generation X daughters in 1994 with lower SEI scores for occupation (p<.05). Also, a difference in household income between the two sets of young adult daughters is found (p<.05). The average income level for Generation X daughters in 1994 is much lower, $38,876, than for the Baby Boom Generation in 1971, where the average income was $53,203.

The two generations also differ with respect to family circumstances in young adulthood. For example, in 1994, 26.8% of the Generation X daughters were married as compared to 33.3% of the Baby Boom daughters in 1971. However, the biggest difference between the two generations with regard to marital status is the number of women who were cohabiting in 1994 among the Generation X sample, 20.7%. In 1971, only 3.4% of the Baby Boom sample reported living together. The percentage of not married women was 52.4% of Generation X daughters, and 63.3% of Baby Boom daughters. These differences in marital status between the two samples of young adult women are statistically significant ($p<.001$). In addition, the timing of marriage for the two generations of young women differed ($p<.01$). Among Generation X young adult daughters, 19.5% married earlier, and 3.7% married later. In 1971, all of the Baby Boom daughters who had ever been married, 32.5%, married earlier, and none married later. Interestingly, more Generation X daughters had children during young adulthood in 1994 ($p<.05$). Among the Generation X daughters, 19.5% had children, compared to 13.7% of the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971. For the Generation X daughters in 1994, 80.5% had no children; however, 17.1% of these women had children at an earlier age, while 2.4% had children later.

<div align="center">Descriptive Statistics and Mean Differences–Dependent Variables</div>

This section focuses on the descriptive statistics and the mean differences for the three measures of solidarity comprising the dependent variables for each generation of women during young adulthood. In addition to presenting the results of each measure of solidarity, the items used to comprise these measures have also been presented. Mean difference scores using ANOVA were run to determine significant differences in the means for each generation of women. There are some significant differences in the

perceptions of solidarity for the Generation X daughters who were young adults in 1994 compared to the Baby Boom Generation daughters who were young adults in 1971.

Results–Daughters' Perceptions of Associational Solidarity During Young Adulthood

Table 5.2 illustrates the results of the levels of perceptions of associational solidarity for each generation of daughters with their mothers during young adulthood. Each measure of solidarity is represented by the mean and standard deviation. T-tests were done to compare the women from each generation. Associatonal solidarity overall, has a range of 3 to 24. Generation X daughters in 1994 have higher perceptions of associational solidarity (mean=13.52) than the Baby Boom daughters in 1971 (mean=12.42). This is a significant difference in overall perceptions of associational solidarity with their mothers for each generation of women ($p<.05$). The three items comprising the measure of associational solidarity each have a range of 1 to 6. Of these items, only one emerges as significantly different for the Generation X and Baby Boom Generation daughters ($p<.01$). This is the frequency of interaction on the telephone between the daughters and their mothers during a period of a year. Generation X daughters in 1994 have more contact with their mothers (mean=6.19) compared to the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971 (mean= 4.63). While the other two items are not significant, it is important to note that the frequency of interaction with their mothers in person during the year decreased for the Generation X daughters in comparison to the Baby Boom daughters (mean=5.28 and 5.71 respectively), where as the frequency of interaction by mail increased (mean=2.50 and 2.02 respectively). While these findings are not significant, they do indicate a trend that would suggest the phone would emerge as a more viable means of interaction for these women. And overall, associational solidarity has increased for the successive generation of women over time.

Results–Daughters' Perceptions of Affectual Solidarity During Young Adulthood

The next measure of solidarity, affectual solidarity, is presented Table 5.3. This measure of solidarity has a range of 5 to 30. The overall mean for perceptions of this measure of solidarity increased for the Generation X daughters in 1994 (mean=22.58) compared to the Baby Boom daughters in 1971 (mean=21.90). However, this difference is not significant between these generations of women. Each of the five items comprising this measure have a range of 1 to 6. When looking at the items in this measure of solidarity, two items emerge as being significantly different between the two generations of young adult women. There is a significant decrease in the daughters' perception of whether or not the daughter feels that her mother understands her (p<.05). For the Generation X daughters in 1994, perceptions decrease (mean=4.00) compared to the Baby Boom Generation daughters' perceptions in 1971 (mean= 4.34). There is also a significant difference in whether or not the daughter feels she understands her mother at this stage (p<.10). Generation X daughters as young adults have lower perceptions (mean=4.31) compared to the Baby Boom Generation daughters (mean= 4.49). Interestingly, while these two variables indicate the perception of some level of understanding between mother and daughter, and both have decreased, each of the other items in this measure – closeness, communication, and whether they get along – have all increased for the successive generation of women. However, these increases are not statistically significant.

Results–Daughters' Perceptions of Consensual Solidarity During Young Adulthood

The final bivariate table, Table 5.4, presents the findings for the measure of consensual solidarity. This is a single item measure, with a range of 1 to 6. There is a significant difference in the perceptions of the two generations of daughters with regard

to the similarity of world views with their mothers (p<.05). The Generation X daughters in 1994 perceive higher levels of consensual solidarity with their mothers as young adults (mean=3.89) than did the Baby Boom Generation of daughters in 1971 (mean= 1.55).

Multivariate Analyses

This section analyzes the multivariate models, which explore the effects of the education, work, and family measures on each generation of daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, consensual solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood. Each of the tables includes four models for each of the generation of daughters. Daughter's age is added as a control variable in each of the models. Model 1 includes the education measure, comparing women who have more than a high school education to those with the equivalent of a high school degree or less. Model 2 includes those variables pertaining to work life. These are 1) employment status, which compares women who work to women who do not work, 2) SEI score for occupation, which compares women who do not work and have no score, and women who have a high score to women with lower SEI scores, and 3) income level. Model 3 is the family model which includes 1) marital status, comparing married women to women who are not married and women who are living together, 2) age at first marriage, which compares women who married early to women who are not married and women who married later, and 3) age at first child, which compares women who have no children to women who had their first child early and women who had their first child later. The final model, Model 4, includes all of the covariates from the three domains.

Results–Effects of Daughter Characteristics on Their Perceptions of Associational
     Solidarity

The first multivariate table (Table 5.5) shows results of the four models, which

illustrate the effects of the daughter characteristics on their perceptions of associational

solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood.   Model 1, which includes the

daughter's age and education, yields no significant findings. Furthermore, almost no

variability is explained by this model, about 1% for each of the two generations of young

adult daughters.

The work measures in Model 2 present several significant findings. First, this

model is significant for both the Generation X daughters in 1994 and the Baby Boom

Generation daughters in 1971 ($p<.10$ and $p<.05$, respectively). In addition, this model

explains 14% of the variability in perceptions of associational solidarity for the

Generation X daughters, and 11% of the variability for the Baby Boom Generation

daughters. For the Generation X daughters in 1994, having a higher SEI score is

negatively associated with the daughter's perception of associational solidarity during

young adulthood when compared to women with low SEI scores ($p<.10$). This is also the

case for Baby Boom Generation daughters during young adulthood in 1971 ($p<.05$).

Income also emerges as having a significant effect on daughters' perceptions of

associational solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood. For Generation X

daughters, a higher level of income is associated with more positive perceptions of

associational solidarity ($p<.01$). For Baby Boom Generation daughters, the association is

negative. Among these women in 1971, a higher level of income was associated with

lower levels of associational solidarity with their mothers ($p<.01$).

Model 3, which includes the family characteristics of the daughters, presents no significant findings for either generation of daughters. None of the family measures have a significant effect on daughters' perceptions of associational solidarity during young adulthood. However, this model does explain 15% of the variability in perceptions of associational solidarity for Generation X daughters in 1994, and is approaching significance ($p<.10$). In addition, in this model, when only the family characteristics are added to age and education, the effect of daughter's age on this measure of solidarity becomes a positively correlated effect. The older the daughter is within the young adult sample, the more positive are her perceptions of association with her mother.

The final model in Table 5.5, Model 4, includes age, and all of the education, work and family variables. This model yields few significant results. With regards to levels of association with their mothers during young adulthood, For the Generation X daughters, this model explains 21% of the variability in this dependent variable. However, neither the model, nor any of the covariates emerge as significant. For Baby Boom Generation daughters, 12% of the variability in perceptions of associational solidarity is explained, and the model is approaching significance ($p<.10$). In addition, having a high SEI score, and income emerge as having significant effects on level of association when all of the variables are included in the model. For Baby Boom daughters in 1971, having a higher SEI score is associated with lower levels of association with their mothers compared to women with lower SEI scores ($p<.05$). For these daughters, income is also negatively associated with associational solidarity ($p<.01$). It is also interesting to note, for the Baby Boom Generation, across the models the relationship between age and perceptions of associational solidarity emerged as a positive correlation. However, when all of the

variables are included in the model, this relationship becomes negative. The older the daughter in this young adult sample, the more negative are the perceptions of associational solidarity with their mother.

Results–Effects of Daughter Characteristics on their Perceptions of Affectual Solidarity

Table 5.6 includes the results of all four models on the daughters' levels of perception of affectional solidarity with their mothers as young adults. The same models are included here as in the previous table. Model 1, which includes daughter's age and education, yields nothing significant. Age and education are not significantly related to perceptions of affectual solidarity for either of these generations during young adulthood. Furthermore, this model is not significant for either generation of women, explaining little variability in this dependent variable.

When the work characteristics are introduced in Model 2, only SEI score for occupation for the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971 appears to have a significant effect ($p < .10$). For these daughters during young adulthood, having a higher SEI score for occupation is indicative of lower perceptions so affectual solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood compared to those daughters with a low score. Although not statistically significant, for the daughters in Generation X, the relationship between SEI and this measure of solidarity is a positive one. This model is also statistically significant for the Baby Boom Generation daughters ($p < .10$), yet only explains about 6% of the variability in the dependent variable. For the Generation X daughters in 1994, about 7% of the variability is explained, and this model is not significant.

When the family characteristics are included in Model 3, little significant value is found. For the Generation X daughters during young adulthood in 1994, less than a high

school degree is associated with lower levels of perceptions of affectual solidarity with their mothers compared to those daughters with more than a high school degree (p<.10). While not statistically significant, with the inclusion of the family variables, it is also important to note that the relationship between daughter's age and affect becomes negative, while it had been positive when looking at education and the work characteristics in the previous two models. This model explains 9% of the variability in the dependent variable for Generation X daughters in 1994, and only 2% for Baby Boom daughters in 1971.

When all of the independent variables are included in Model 4, the relationship between age and affect remains negative for the Generation X daughters during young adulthood in 1994. However, daughter's income is the only covariate that emerges as having a significant effect on affectual solidarity for these women (p<.05). For these daughters, having a higher income level is associated with more positive perceptions of affectual solidarity with their mothers. Interestingly, for the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971, the relationship between income and affect is also significant, however, this relationship is negative (p<.10). In addition, for the Baby Boom daughters in 1971, SEI score for income is also significant (p<.10). A negative association exists indicating that if the daughter's SEI score is higher, the perceptions of afectual solidarity with her mother during young adulthood are more negative. For the Generation X daughters, this full model explains 16% of the variability in affect, and 8% for Baby Boom Generation daughters.

Results–Effects of Daughter Characteristics on their Perceptions of Consensual Solidarity

Turning attention to Table 5.7, findings from the four models on perceptions of consensual solidarity for the daughters with regard to the daughter characteristics are

presented. Model 1 presents significant results in terms of age and education for young adult Baby Boom daughters. Baby Boom daughters in 1971 have higher perceptions of consensual solidarity with their mothers if they are older ($p<.05$). Age does not have a significant effect on consensus for Generation X daughters in 1994. For Baby Boom Generation women, education also has a significant affect on levels of consensus during young adulthood ($p<.05$). Women with less than or equal to a high school degree report more similar world views with their mothers compared to those young women who have more education during young adulthood. While not significant, this relationship for the Generation X daughters in 1994 is negative. Model 1 explains almost none of the variability in the dependent variable, 1%, for the Generation X daughters, while explaining 6% for the Baby Boom Generation daughters. For the Baby Boom Generation sample in 1971, this model is significant ($p<.05$).

Looking at model 2, there are significant findings among the work measures. For the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971, age is again significantly associated with consensual solidarity, in that as the daughters age, their perceptions of consensus with their mothers become more similar ($p<.10$). With the inclusion of the work measures, education is no longer significant for these daughters. Employment status for Baby Boom Generation daughters during young adulthood in 1971 is significant ($p<.10$). For these women, a high SEI score is associated with less similar world views with their mothers compared to those daughters who have a lower SEI score. In addition, for the Baby Boom Generation women a higher level of income has a significant negative association with consensus ($p<.05$). For the Generation X daughters in 1994, income is also significantly associated with perceptions of consensual solidarity ($p<.10$). However,

for these young adult daughters, a higher income level means more similarity of world views. Model 2 explains 5% of the variability in the dependent variable for the Generation X daughters in 1994, and 9% of the variability for the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971. This model is significant for the Baby Boom daughters ($p < .05$).

Model 3 includes the family characteristics in the model with age and education. Several significant findings in association with perceptions of consensual solidarity emerge in this model. For Generation X daughters, the inclusion of the family covariates alter the relationship between age and consensus. In the previous two models, this relationship was positive, so that as the daughters got older, their world views became more similar to those of their mothers. This model suggests that this relationship is a negative relationship, although not a significant one. For Baby Boom Generation daughters during young adulthood, being older continues to be significantly associated with more similar world views with their mothers ($p < .05$). Education again emerges as significant with the family measures added ($p < .05$). Having less than or equal to a high school education for the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971 means more similar world views with their mothers compared to those daughters with more than a high school education. Finally, those daughters who were not married during young adulthood from the Baby Boom sample in 1971 reported more positive perceptions of consensual solidarity with their mothers compared to those women who were married ($p < .10$). This model explains 8% of the variability in perceptions of consensual solidarity with ones mother for both generations of women, however the model is only significant in explaining the relationship for the Baby Boom Generation daughters during in 1971 ($p < .05$).

Turning to Model 4, inclusive of all daughter characteristics, significant findings are present. During young adulthood, age continues to be significant for Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971 in the same way as the previous models (p<.05). A lower education also continues to be significantly associated with more similar world views with their mothers for these daughters when compared to the daughters with higher education (p<.05). Baby Boom Generation daughters with high SEI scores also reported significantly lower levels of consensus with their mothers during young adulthood than did those daughters with low SEI scores (p<.10). Income was also negatively associated with perceptions of consensual solidarity for Baby Boom daughters (p<.05). In 1971, daughters with higher levels of income reported less similarity with their mothers in terms of world views. With all of the covariates included in this model, age at first marriage remained significant for the Baby Boom daughters in 1971 (p<.10). Those women who were not married reported significantly more positive perceptions of consensual solidarity with their mothers than their married counterparts during young adulthood. While Model 3 explains 13% of the variability in consensual solidarity for both generations of women during young adulthood, again, the model is only significant for the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971 (p<.05).

Social Difference Analyses for Generation X Daughters and their Baby Boom Mothers During Young Adulthood.

This section is targeted toward analyzing the effects of the differences between daughters and their mothers on the daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity. By comparing the daughters' sociodemographic characteristics in terms of education, work and family, to their mothers, several difference measures were created. Descriptive characteristics are examined first, for differences in education, work

status and SEI score for occupation, income level, marital status and timing of marriage, and children. Second, OLS regression analyses are run examining the effects of the difference measures on the three measures of solidarity.

Results–Descriptive Statistics for the Difference Measures Comprising the Independent Variables

Table 5.8 includes the descriptive statistics illustrating the difference measures for Generation X daughters during young adulthood and their Baby Boom Mothers during young adulthood. The three category, education variable reveals that 31% of the Generation X daughters as young adults in 1994 had more education that their Baby Boom mothers did when they were young adults. Almost 14% of the daughters had less education than their mothers. Just over half, 55%, of the Generation X daughters and their mothers have the same level of education, either both low, or both high.

Work status and SEI score for occupation were combined. Five categories were examined. About 12% of the daughters had jobs with high SEI scores while their mothers had no jobs and therefore no scores. There are just over 10% of the dyads where the mothers work and have high SEI scores and the daughters do not work and have no score. Approximately 11% of the dyads are those where both daughters and mothers work and have low SEI scores. Just over 24% of the mother/daughter dyads include those women where both daughters and mothers have no SEI scores because they don't work. Finally, 43% of the dyads are characterized by all of the other categories of SEI score and work status combinations.

Three categories of income differences are examined. For those daughters whose income levels are high and their mother's income is low, about 22% of dyads exist. Almost 26% of the dyads are characterized by a mother with a higher income level and a

daughter with a low income level. Finally, approximately 52% of the dyads include daughters and mothers with the same income levels.

Current marital status and timing of marriage were combined and three categories of dyads are compared. About 15% of the dyads include those daughters and mothers who are both married, and married early. Daughters who never married and had mothers who married early comprise approximately 49% of the dyads. Those dyads which contain all other categories of marital status and marital timing combinations, make up the remaining 35% of the pairs of mothers and daughters.

With regard to having children, since the mothers are paired with the daughters already, there is no possibility that the mother does not have children. Thus, there are only two categories represented here. Almost 20% of the dyads are those where both daughter and mother have children during young adulthood. The remaining 80% are those mother/daughter pairs where the daughter does not have children of her own.

Results–Effects of Social Difference Measures on Generation X daughters' Perceptions of Associational, Affectual and Consensual Solidarity with their Baby Boom Generation Mothers During Young Adulthood

Table 5.9 illustrates the regression analyses used to explore the social difference variables between the young adult daughters of Generation X with their Baby Boom Generation mothers. All of the variables are included in the model together for associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity. Turning attention to the effects of these difference scores on associational solidarity, several of the difference measures emerge as significant. This model explains 32% of the variability in associational solidarity during young adulthood in 1994 for the Generation X daughters (p<.10). With regard to education, those dyads where the daughters and their mothers had the same level of education during young adulthood had lower perceptions of association with their

mothers in 1994 compared to those in which the daughter had more education than the mother (p<.10).

Several of the marital status and timing of marriage covariates appear to have significant effects on Generation X daughters' perceptions of associational solidarity during young adulthood. When compared to daughters who work and have high SEI scores, and the mother does not work and has no score, those dyads where both worked and had low scores had lower levels of association with their mothers (p<.10). Those mother/daughter dyads where neither women worked, and therefore had no score had higher levels of association with their mothers during young adulthood in 1994 compared to the reference group (p<.10).

Moving on to affectual solidarity, with all of the covariates included in the model, about 25% of the variability in Generation X daughters perceptions of affectual solidarity is explained here. This model is not significant. With regard to this measure of solidarity, education differences do not emerge as significant as they had with associational solidarity. Moving on to work status and SEI score, those dyads where the mother works and had a high SEI score, while the daughter did not work and had no score had significantly lower levels of affect when compared to those dyads where the daughters worked and had high SEI scores and the mothers did not work and had no scores (p<.05). Income differences also emerged as significant in this model. For those dyads where the income levels were the same for both the daughter and her mother, higher levels of affectual solidarity were expressed by Generation X daughters during young adulthood in 1994 when compared to those dyads in which the daughters had higher income levels than did their mothers.

Finally, looking at consensual solidarity, approximately 27% of the variability in this dependent variable is explained by this model (p<.10). As was the case for affectual solidarity, dyads where the mothers worked and had high SEI scores and the daughters did not work and had no score had lower levels of consensus with their mothers than did the reference group (p<.05). The only other significant effect on Generation X daughters' perceptions of consensual solidarity during young adulthood in 1994 is a marital status and marital timing difference measure. When the daughter is single while her mother married early, lower levels of consensual solidarity exist compared to mother/daughter dyads where both daughter and mother married early (p<.10).

<div align="center">Conclusions</div>

In order to test hypotheses $H1_A$ through $H1_C$, four steps were taken in this analytic chapter. The first step of the analysis of the daughters during young adulthood, a description of their sociodemographic characteristics (education, work and family) was provided. In the second step of the analysis, a description of the dependent variables – associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity – was provided. At this time, mean differences between the Generation X daughters and the Baby Boom Generation daughters during young adulthood were presented. Third, the multivariate analyses testing the relationship between daughter characteristics on their perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity during young adulthood were run. Finally, the multivariate analyses testing the effects of social distance between the mother daughter dyads, which included Generation X daughters and their Baby Boom Generation mothers during young adulthood, on the daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity. Support is provided for each of these three hypotheses.

To review, the hypotheses tested in Chapter 5 look at the effects of daughter characteristics and social distance on daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood. The first hypothesis, $H1_A$, looks specifically at the differences between the two generations of women during young adulthood, Generation X daughters in 1994 and Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971. The second hypothesis, $H1_B$, focuses on the effects of the daughters' characteristics, those sociodemographic characteristics pertaining to education, work, and family, on the daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers. With this hypothesis, a distinction is made setting affectual solidarity apart from associational and consensual solidarity. Finally, the third hypothesis, $H1_C$, focuses on the effects of social distance between the Generation X daughters during young adulthood and their mothers from the Baby Boom Generation on the daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers. Again, a distinction is made here which suggests that affectual solidarity will not be affected in the same ways as associational and consensual solidarity.

Support for $H1_A$ can be seen in Tables 5.2 through 5.4. Young adult daughters from Generation X in 1994 have stronger (more positive) perceptions of associational and consensual solidarity than the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971. In Table 5.2, levels of associational solidarity were presented. Overall, associational solidarity was greater for the Generation X daughters in 1994. In terms of each of the individual measures, it was also the case that there was an increase in association for the successive generation. However, the significant difference was found in the increase of association with their mothers by phone.

Support for H1$_B$ can be seen in Tables 5.5 through 5.7. The effects of daughter characteristics on perceptions do not affect affectual solidarity in the same way as they do associational and consensual solidarity. Looking at Table 5.5, the effects of daughter characteristics on associational solidarity during young adulthood, Model 2 proves to be significant for both generations of daughters. This model includes the work characteristics, and both SEI for occupation and income are significant for both generations of women. Model 3, which includes the family characteristics, is significant for the Generation X daughters. Finally, the full model, Model 4, is significant for the Baby Boom daughters, and SEI and income again emerge as significant.

Skipping ahead to Table 5.7, looking at the effects of daughter characteristics on perceptions of consensual solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood, several significant findings emerge as well. Each of the four models is significant for the Baby Boom Generation daughters. Model 1 indicates that age and education are in fact associated with levels of consensus. Model 2, which incorporates the work characteristics, suggests that for this generation a high SEI score, and a higher level of income are also associated with consensual solidarity. In Model 3, not being married emerges as significant. Finally, in the full model, age and education remain significant, as well as not being married.

Turning attention now to Table 5.6, the effects of daughter characteristics on perceptions of affectual solidarity during young adulthood, it can be seen that none of the models show that daughter characteristics are associated with perceptions of affect, with the exception of Model 2 for the Baby Boom Generation approaching significance. Thus, affectual solidarity for daughters during young adulthood is not affected in the same way

that associational or consensual solidarity. Furthermore, the fact that these four models in each table reveal more significant associations for the Baby Boom daughters during young adulthood continues to lend support for the first hypothesis, which suggests that there are more negative perceptions of associational and consensual solidarity for this generation of women during young adulthood.

Support for H1$_C$ can be seen in Table 5.9. Social distance between Generation X daughters and their Baby Boom mothers during young adulthood is associated with associational and consensual solidarity, but not with affectual solidarity. Looking at Table 5.9, the models for associational and consensual solidarity are significant, suggesting that these social distance measures sufficiently explain variability in these measures of solidarity during young adulthood. However, this is not the case for affectual solidarity.

Table 5.1. Descriptive Statistics–Demographic Characteristics of Generation X
Daughters and Baby Boom Daughters in Young Adulthood.

	Generation X Daughters Young Adulthood 1994 N=82			Baby Boom Daughters Young Adulthood 1971 N=124			
	$\bar{x}$	SD	%	$\bar{x}$	SD	%	Sig.
DAUGHTER CHARACTERISTICS							
Age (mean)	21.66	2.96		20.48	2.30		*
Education Level (%)							**
High School Degree or Less			28.0			40.0	
More than High School			72.0			60.0	
Work Status (%)							*
Works			64.6			66.1	
Does Not Work			35.4			33.9	
SEI (Occupation) (%)							*
No Job, No Score			35.4			37.5	
SEI Score is Low			45.1			23.3	
SEI Score is High			19.5			39.2	
Income-1994 Dollars (mean)	38,876	25,601		53,203	36,085		*
Current Marital Status (%)							***
Married			26.8			33.33	
Living as Married			20.7			3.4	
Not Married			52.4			63.3	
Age at First Marriage (%)							**
Never Married			76.8			67.5	
Married Younger			19.5			32.5	
Married Older			3.7			0	
Has Children (%)							
Yes			19.5			13.7	*
No			80.5			86.3	
Age at First Birth (%)	19.37	2.47		20.05	2.04		
No Children			80.5			86.3	
Had First Child Younger			17.1			-----	
Had First Child Older			2.4			-----	

a. t-tests for significant differences of quantitative variables, chi-square for qualitative variables.

Table 5.2. Generation X Daughters' and Baby Boom Daughters' Perceptions of
Associational Solidarity with their Mothers in Young Adulthood.

	Generation X Daughters Young Adulthood 1994			Baby Boom Daughters Young Adulthood 1971			
	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	Sig
Associational Solidarity	13.52	4.25	82	12.42	3.16	124	*
In Person	5.28	2.27	82	5.71	2.10	124	
By Phone	6.19	1.85	82	4.63	2.41	124	**
By Mail	2.50	1.62	82	2.02	1.70	124	

$*p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; \sim p < .10$ (approaching significance)

Table 5.3. Generation X Daughters' and Baby Boom Daughters' Perceptions of
Affectual Solidarity with their Mothers in Young Adulthood.

	Generation X Daughters Young Adulthood 1994			Baby Boom Daughters Young Adulthood 1971			
	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	Sig
Affectual Solidarity	22.58	6.44	82	21.90	5.03	124	
Closeness of Relationship	4.80	1.43	82	4.50	1.24	124	
Communication	4.59	1.54	82	4.25	1.41	124	
Get Along w/ Each Other	4.97	1.54	82	4.59	1.10	124	
Mother Understands Her	4.00	1.53	82	4.04	1.27	124	*
She Understands Mother	4.31	1.47	82	4.49	1.14	124	~

$*p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; \sim p < .10$ (approaching significance)

Table 5.4. Generation X Daughters' and Baby Boom Daughters' Perceptions of
Consensual Solidarity with their Mothers in Young Adulthood.

	Generation X Daughters Young Adulthood 1994			Baby Boom Daughters Young Adulthood 1971			
	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	Sig
Consensual Solidarity	3.89	1.46	82	3.55	1.28	122	*

$*p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; \sim p < .10$ (approaching significance)

Table 5.5. OLS Regression – Effects of Daughter Characteristics During Young Adulthood on Associational Solidarity for Generation X and Baby Boom Generation Daughters.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Gen X	Baby Boom	Gen X	Baby Boom	Gen X	Baby Boom	Gen X	Baby Boom
Daughter Characteristics								
Age	-.09 (.19)	.09 (.14)	-.09 (.21)	.02 (.14)	.01 (.25)	.08 (.19)	-.02 (.27)	-.10 (.18)
Education (ref = more than high school)								
Less Than/Equal to High School	.04 (1.26)	-.00 (.64)	.12 (1.34)	-.09 (.66)	.07 (1.30)	-.00 (.73)	.13 (1.40)	-.05 (.72)
Employment Status (ref = not work)								
Works	-----	-----	.13 (4.76)	-.04 (.63)	-----	-----	.50 (5.56)	-.07 (.67)
SEI Score for Occupation (ref =low SEI)								
No Score, Does not Work	-----	-----	.12 (4.81)	-.13 (.82)	-----	-----	.52 (5.59)	-.12 (.84)
High SEI Score	-----	-----	-.17 (1.51)~	-.27 (.83)*	-----	-----	-.12 (1.61)	-.28 (.84)*
Income-1994 Dollars	-----	-----	.35 (.00)*	-.28 (.00)**	-----	-----	-.23 (.00)	-.32 (.00)**
Marital Status (ref = married)								
Not Married	-----	-----	-----	-----	.19 (2.58)	-.11 (3.27)	-.09 (2.71)	-.07 (3.21)
Living as Married	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.22 (2.70)	-.03 (3.66)	-.17 (2.77)	.02 (3.54)
Age at First Marriage(ref= married earlier)								
Not Married	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.11 (3.78)	.05 (3.33)	-.27 (4.13)	-.20 (3.23)
Married Later	-----	-----	-----	-----	.17 (2.97)	NA	-.35 (3.40)	NA
Age at First Child (ref = no children)								
First Child Earlier	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.19 (4.57)	-.05 (1.01)	.16 (4.66)	-.09 (.99)
First Child Later	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.26 (4.53)	NA	.22 (4.61)	NA
Constant	16.48	9.73	13.07	14.84	16.28	10.41	12.87	12.62
R²	.01	.01	.14~	.11*	.16~	.01	.21	.12~

a. N= 82, Generation X; 124, Baby Boom Generation.

b. Standardized coefficients are presented; Standard errors appear in parentheses

c. *p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; ~ p < .10 (approaching significance)

Table 5.6. OLS Regression – Effects of Daughter Characteristics on Affectual Solidarity During Young Adulthood for Generation X and Baby Boom Generation Daughters.

Daughter Characteristics	Model 1 Gen X	Model 1 Baby Boom	Model 2 Gen X	Model 2 Baby Boom	Model 3 Gen X	Model 3 Baby Boom	Model 4 Gen X	Model 4 Baby Boom
Age	.11 (25)	.08 (.21)	.09 (.28)	.03 (.22)	-.01 (.32)	.10 (.28)	-.11 (.34)	.12 (.28)
Education (ref = more than high school)								
Less Than/Equal to High School	-.10 (1.62)	-.05 (.96)	-.03 (1.87)	-.12 (1.01)	-.15 (1.72)~	-.02 (1.09)	-.01 (1.91)	-.06 (1.11)
Employment Status(ref=does not work)								
Works	-----	-----	-.36 (6.93)	-.10 (.98)	-----	-----	.70 (7.99)	-.12 (.99)
SEI Score for Occupation(ref=low SEI)								
No Score, Does not Work	-----	-----	.36 (6.96)	-.14 (1.23)	-----	-----	.58 (7.97)	.00 (1.26)
High SEI Score	-----	-----	.07 (2.05)	-.19 (1.23)~	-----	-----	-.01 (2.17)	-.21 (1.25)~
Income-1994 Dollars	-----	-----	.18 (.00)	-.16 (.00)	-----	-----	.28 (.00)*	-.18 (.00)~
Marital Status (ref = married)								
Not Married	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.02 (3.76)	-.27 (5.05)	-.20 (3.86)	-.22 (5.08)
Living as Married	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.02 (3.91)	-.89 (5.64)	-.04 (3.93)	-.25 (5.11)
Age at First Marriage(ref=married earlier)								
Not Married	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.24 (4.09)	2.12 (5.13)	-.44 (5.93)	.04 (1.22)
Married Later	-----	-----	-----	-----	.02 (4.25)	NA	-.23 (4.86)	NA
Age at First Child (ref = no children)								
First Child Earlier	-----	-----	-----	-----	.35 (6.64)	-.10 (1.52)	.24 (6.72)	-.14 (1.52)
First Child Later	-----	-----	-----	-----	.36 (6.61)	NA	.32 (6.64)	NA
Constant	17.82	18.81	12.06	23.69	21.61	20.45	19.25	22.28
R^2	.03	.01	.07	.06~	.09	.02	.16	.08

a. N= 82, Generation X; 124, Baby Boom Generation..
b. Standardized coefficients are presented; Standard errors appear in parentheses
c. *p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; ~ p < .10 (approaching significance)

Table 5.7. OLS Regression – Effects of Daughter Characteristics During Young Adulthood on Consensual Solidarity for Generation X and Baby Boom Generation Daughters.

Daughter Characteristics	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Gen X	Baby Boom	Gen X	Baby Boom	Gen X	Baby Boom	Gen X	Baby Boom
Age	.02 (.06)	.21 (.05)*	.02 (.06)	.16 (.06)~	-.06 (.07)	.27 (.07)*	-.13 (.07)	.28 (.07)*
Education (ref = more than high school)								
Less Than/Equal to High School	-.10 (.36)	.20 (.25)*	-.01 (.41)	.14 (.26)	-.14 (.38)	.24 (.28)*	-.02 (.43)	.19 (.28)*
Employment Status (ref = does not work)								
Works	------	------	.47 (1.55)	-.04 (.25)	------	------	.64 (1.81)	.61 (1.27)
SEI Score for Occupation (ref = low SEI)								
No Score, Does not Work	------	------	.46 (1.56)	-.07 (.32)	------	------	.52 (1.81)	-.05 (.32)
High SEI Score	------	------	.05 (.46)	-.17 (.32)~	------	------	.03 (.48)	-.20 (.32)~
Income-1994 Dollars	------	------	.19 (.00)~	-.16 (.00)*	------	------	.20 (.00)	-.21 (.00)*
Marital Status (ref = married)								
Not Married	------	------	------	------	.11 (.84)	-.60 (1.28)	-.03 (.87)	-1.02 (1.29)
Living as Married	------	------	------	------	-.05 (.88)	-.18 (1.43)	-.08 (.89)	-.15 (1.42)
Age at First Marriage (ref =married earlier)								
Not Married	------	------	------	------	-.27 (.92)	.67 (1.30)~	-.30 (1.34)	1.41 (1.30)~
Married Later	------	------	------	------	.04 (.96)	NA	-.07 (1.10)	NA
Age at First Child (ref = no children)								
First Child Earlier	------	------	------	------	-.18 (1.50)	-.03 (.39)	.28 (1.53)	-.06 (.39)
First Child Later	------	------	------	------		NA	-.21 (1.52)	NA
Constant	3.75	1.02	7.90	2.28	5.83	1.88	4.93	.65
R^2	.01	.06*	.05	.09*	.08	.08*	.13	.13*

a. N= 82, Generation X; 124, Baby Boom Generation..
b. Standardized coefficients are presented; Standard errors appear in parentheses
c. * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; ~ p < .10 (approaching significance)

Table 5.8. Descriptive Statistics – Social Distance Among Generation X Daughters During Young Adulthood and their Baby Boom Generation Mothers During Young Adulthood.

Difference Variables For Daughters and Their Mothers	%
Education Level	
Daughter has More Education than Mother	31.1
Mother has More Education than Daughter	13.8
Both Daughter and Mother have the Same Level of Education	55.2
Work Status and SEI for Occupation	
Daughter Works/High SEI, Mother Does Not Work/No SEI	12.1
Mother Works/High SEI, Daughter Does Not Work/No SEI	10.3
Both Daughter and Mother Work and Have Low SEI	10.7
Both Have No SEI Because Neither Work	24.1
All Others	43.1
Income-1994 Dollars	
Daughter's Income Level is High, Mother's is Low	22.4
Mother's Income Level is High, Daughter's is Low	25.9
Daughter and Mother Have Same Income Level	51.7
Marital Status and Timing of Marriage	
Both Mother and Daughter Married Early	14.6
Daughter is Single/Never Married and Mother Married Early	48.8
All Others	35.4
Children	
Both Daughter and Mother Have Children	19.5
Daughter Does not Have Children, Mother Does	80.5

Table 5.9. OLS Regression – Effects of Social Distance Between Generation X
Daughters and their Baby Boom Generation Mothers During Young
Adulthood.

	Associational Solidarity	Affectual Solidarity	Consensual Solidarity
Difference Scores			
Education Level (ref=daughter has more)			
Mother has More Education than Daughter	-.30 (2.58)	-.08 (3.58)	.01 (.77)
Daughter and Mother Have Same Education	-.04 (1.93) ~	.11 (2.90)	.25 (.60)
Work Status and SEI Score (ref = daughter works/high SEI, mother does not work)			
Mother Works/High, Daughter Does Not Work	-.10 (3.88)	-.46 (4.84) *	-.34 (1.01) *
Both Work Have Low SEI	-.48 (2.99) ~	-.13 (4.38)	.15 (.91)
Neither Work and Have No SEI	.42 (2.68) ~	-.21 (3.82)	-.10 (.80)
All Others	.33 (2.76)	-.30 (3.81)	-.29 (.80)
Income (ref=Daughter's Income is High, Mother's is Low)			
Mother's Income is High, Daughter's is Low	-.15 (2.30)	-.02 (3.40)	-.19 (.76)
Income Level is the Same for Both	-.06 (2.03)	.30 (2.85) ~	-.01 (.66)
Marital Status and Timing of Marriage (ref=both daughter and mother married early)			
Daughter is Single, Mother Married Early	.03 (2.08)	-.25 (2.84)	-.23 (.61) ~
All Others	.23 (1.95)	-.19 (2.86)	-.27 (.58)
Children (ref=both have children)			
Daughter Has No Children, Mother Does	.01 (1.80)	-.16 (3.03)	-.10 (.55)
Constant	10.29	28.13	4.98
R^2	.32~	.25	.27~

a. N=82

b. Standardized coefficients are presented; Standard errors appear in parentheses.

c. *p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001; ~p<.10

CHAPTER 6
GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN DAUGHTERS' PERCEPTIONS OF
ASSOCIATIONAL, AFFECTUAL, AND CONSENSUAL SOLIDARITY IN MID-LIFE

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine generational differences in daughters'

perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers

during the midlife stage. This chapter specifically explores the role of education, work,

and family in influencing daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers during

midlife. Two generations are compared – women from the Baby Boom Generation in

1994 in midlife and women from the World War II Generation in 1971 during midlife.

This chapter presents the results of several sets of analyses – bivariate and

multivariate. Descriptive sample characteristics are presented first (a bivariate

comparison of two generations) for each generation during midlife. Education, work and

family characteristics of each generation are calculated. Tests for differences across the

two generations when they were in midlife wer calculated as well. The second set of

analyses calculates levels of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity for each

cohort when in the midlife life stage. Again, tests for differences in reported solidarity

with mothers across the two generations when they during midlife are calculated as well.

The next set of analyses included in this chapter are multivariate models estimating the

effects of the independent variables on the three measures of solidarity. We employ a

nested modeling strategy where more exogenous variables are entered into the model first

(age and education) and subsequent models explore more proximate factors (work and

family characteristics). The first model includes age, as a control variable, and one's level of education. The second model includes the work related variables of employment, socioeconomic status for occupation, and income. The third model includes those variables related to family – marital status, age at first marriage, and age at first child. The fourth and final model includes all of the variables – age, education, work and family. Thus, we approximate the contribution each set of variables has in explaining levels of solidarity as each set is added to the model.

The final set models are OLS regression models estimated for Baby Boom Generation daughters examining the effects of social distance (as compared with their mothers) on perceptions of daughters' solidarity. For example, we examine whether being married later in life than one's mother was married decreases daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mother. We do not estimate a comparable set of models for the World War II Generation daughters as the data do permit social distance measures to be constructed as there are no data on the mothers of this generation.

Descriptive Statistics–Independent Variables

The first table in this chapter includes the descriptive statistics for the demographic characteristics of Baby Boom Generation and World War II Generation daughters during midlife. The quantitative variables are represented by the mean and the standard deviation, while the qualitative variables are represented by the percentage of women, accounting for each of the variable's attributes. T-tests were done to compare the women from each generation during young adulthood across the quantitative variables, and chi square was used for comparison of the qualitative variables.

Results

Table 6.1 presents the descriptive statistics for the independent, sociodemographic variables that comprise the daughter characteristics for each generation of women. There are 108 Baby Boom Generation daughters and 143 World War II Generation daughters included in the sample of women during midlife. Results suggest that there are significant differences with regard to sociodemographic characteristics pertaining to education, work and family between the Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife in 1994 and the World War II Generation daughters during midlife in 1971. Although the age range was the same for both generations (40 to 59), the Baby Boom Generation daughters are younger (mean age = 43.16) than the sample of World War II daughters (mean age = 44.23) (p< .05). With regard to education, there is also a statistically significant difference (p<.001). Almost all of the Baby Boom daughters (95 percent) have more than a high school education during midlife in 1994, whereas little more than half (56 percent) of the World War II Generation daughters fall into this category in 1971.

Turning next to work related characteristics, results show that there are differences across the generations. More women from the Baby Boom Generation sample of daughters worked in 1994 (80 percent) as compared to daughters from the World War II Generation in 1971 (48 percent). This is a significant increase in 1994 (p<.001). In addition, for the Baby Boom Generation women during midlife in 1994, SEI scores for occupation also increased compared to their World War II Generation counterparts (p<.01). Of those women working in 1994 who had SEI scores, approximately 35% of them had low SEI scores, while 44% had high SEI scores. In 1971 for working World

War II Generation women during midlife, approximately 19% had low scores, while almost 29% had high SEI scores. Also, a difference in household income between the two sets of midlife women is found (p<.001). The average income level for Baby Boom daughters during midlife in 1994 is much lower, $55,685, than for the World War II Generation in 1971, where the average income was $68,304.

The two generations also differ with respect to family circumstances in midlife. For example, in 1994, only 64.8% of the Baby Boom daughters were married as compared to 93% of the World War II daughters in 1971. Three other important differences between the two generations with regard to marital status were the number of women who were cohabiting in 1994 among the Baby Boom sample, 8.3%. In 1971, no World War II Generation women reported living together. Also, the number of divorced women in 1994 is much higher, 16%, compared to only 5% in 1971. Finally, the percentage of single-never married women was almost 9% for the Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife, while none of the World War II daughters had never married. In both of the samples of women, about 2% of the women were widowed at the midlife stage. These differences in marital status between the two samples of young adult women are statistically significant (p<.001). In addition, the timing of marriage for the two generations of women during midlife differed (p<.05). Among Baby Boom daughters, 11% had never married, about 30% married earlier, and almost 59% married later. In 1971, all of the World War II daughters had been married. Approximately 53% married earlier, and 47% married later. Interestingly, more Baby Boom daughters had children in 1994 than did World War II Generation women in 1971 (p<.05). Among the Baby Boom daughters, 83.3% had children, compared to 76.2% of

the World War II Generation daughters. For the Baby Boom daughters in 1994, 16.6%
had no children; however, 64.8% of these women had children at an earlier age, while
18.6% had children later. Age at first child data was not available for World War II
daughters in 1971.

Descriptive Statistics and Mean Differences–Dependent Variables

This section focuses on the descriptive statistics and the mean differences for the
three measures of solidarity comprising the dependent variables for each generation of
women during midlife. In addition to presenting the results of each measure of solidarity,
the items used to comprise these measures have also been presented. Mean difference
scores using ANOVA were run to determine significant differences in the means for each
generation of women. There are some significant differences in the perceptions of
solidarity for the Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife in 1994 compared to
the World War II Generation daughters during midlife in 1971.

Results–Daughters' Perceptions of Associational Solidarity During Midlife

Table 6.2 illustrates the results of the levels of perceptions of associational
solidarity for each generation of daughters with their mothers during midlife. This
measure of associational solidarity has a range of 3 to 24. Baby Boom Generation
daughters in 1994 had lower levels of associational solidarity with their mothers in 1994
(mean= 11.83) than did the World War II Generation daughters in 1971 (mean=12.49).
This is statistically significant for a difference in overall perceptions of associational
solidarity with their mothers during midlife ($p < .10$). The three items comprising the
measure of associational solidarity, frequency of contact in person, by phone, and by
mail, each have a range of 1 to 8. Of these items, only one emerges as significantly
different for the Baby Boom and World War II Generation daughters ($p < .01$). This is the

frequency of interaction by mail between the daughters and their mothers over the course of a year. For the World War II Generation women in 1971, there was a greater frequency of contact with their mothers by mail (mean= 3.29) than for the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1971 (mean= 2.58). While not significant on an individual level, however, contributing nonetheless to the overall levels of perceptions of associational solidarity, is the frequency of contact in person and by phone over the course of the year. Frequency of contact in person for Baby Boom daughters in 1994 was lower (mean =3.99) than it was for the World War II Generation daughters during midlife in 1971 (mean= 4.22). Frequency of contact by phone for the successive generation of women did increase however (mean=5.46) for the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1994. This average is up from the World War II Generation daughters (mean=5.30). Again, while these findings are not significant, they do indicate a trend that would suggest the phone would emerge as a more viable means of interaction for these women, whose life course trajectories have taken them in a different direction than their mothers. Furthermore, this is important given that overall, associational solidarity has decreased for the successive generation of women over time during midlife.

Results–Daughters' Perceptions of Affectual Solidarity During Midlife.

Table 6.3 includes the means for perceptions of affectual solidarity for each generation of daughters included in the midlife analysis. This measure has a range of 5 to 30. The overall mean for perceptions of this measure of solidarity decreased for the Baby Boom daughters during midlife in 1994 (mean=21.21) compared to the World War II Generation daughters in 1971 (mean=22.11). When comparing the two generations of daughters, this decrease is not significant between these two generations. However, when looking individually at the items that comprise this measure, some significant

differences do emerge. Each of the items comprising this measure, closeness of relationship, communication, get along with each other, understanding of mom, understanding of daughter, has a range of 1 to 6. Two of the items in this measure of affectional solidarity emerge as significant. For the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1994, there is a decrease in the perceptions of how well the daughter feels her mother understands her in midlife (mean=3.80). This is down compared to the World War II Generations perceptions of how well they feel their mother understands them during midlife in 1971 (mean=4.13). This difference is significantly lower (p<.05). Another aspect of this measure of solidarity that decreases for the successive generation is how well the daughters feel they understand their mothers during midlife. This decrease is also statistically significant (p<.05). For the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1994, the average is lower (mean=4.42), compared to the World War II Generation daughters in 1971 (mean=4.67). While none of the other individual items are significantly different between the two generations of daughters during midlife, perceptions of closeness and communication both decreased for the successive generation of women. Interestingly, daughters' ideas about whether or not they get along with their mothers remained exactly the same, with identical means and virtually no difference in variability.

Results–Daughters' Perceptions of Consensual Solidarity During Midlife

The final bivariate table, Table 6.5, presents the findings for the measure of consensual solidarity. This is a single item measure assessing the level of similarity of world views among family members from different generations. This measure has a range of 1 to 6. There is no significant difference in the perceptions of the two generations of daughters, and their similarity of world views with their mothers during midlife. The Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1994 have virtually the same mean

perceptions (mean=3.79) as the World War II Generation daughters in 1971 (mean=3.77).

<u>Multivariate Analyses</u>

This section analyzes the multivariate models, which explore the effects of the education, work, and family measures on each generation of daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, consensual solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood. Each of the tables includes four models for each of the generation of daughters. Daughter's age is added as a control variable in each of the models. Model 1 includes the education measure, comparing women who have more than a high school education to those with the equivalent of a high school degree or less. Model 2 includes those variables pertaining to work life. These are 1) employment status, which compares women who work to women who do not work, 2) SEI score for occupation, which compares women who do not work and have no score, and women who have a high score to women with lower SEI scores, and 3) income level. Model 3 is the family model which includes 1) marital status, comparing married women to women who are not married and women who are living together, 2) age at first marriage, which compares women who married early to women who are not married and women who married later, and 3) age at first child, which compares women who have no children to women who had their first child early and women who had their first child later. The final model, Model 4, includes all of the covariates from the three domains.

<u>Results–Effects of Daughter Characteristics on their Perceptions of Associatonal</u>
    <u>Solidarity During Midlife</u>

The first multivariate table, Table 6.5, presents the results of the four models, which illustrate the effects of the daughter characteristics on their perceptions of

associational solidarity with their mothers during young adulthood. Model 1 includes only age and education. This model indicates that for the Baby Boom daughters during midlife in 1994, less than or equal to a high school education, levels of perceptions of associational solidarity with their mothers were less than those daughters who had more than a high school education ($p<.10$). There are no other significant findings produced by this model. Only 4% of the variability is explained for the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1994, and 2% of the variability in association solidarity for the World War II Generation daughters in 1971.

In Model 2, work characteristics are added to the model. For both generations of women, the effects of age and education remain the same once these variables are added. Less education continues to have a negative effect on associational solidarity for the Baby Boom daughters during midlife in 1994. Not one of the work characteristics has a significant effect on levels of association for either generation of daughters during midlife. For the Baby Boom daughters, the explanatory value of this model increases to about 7%. However, the model is still not significant. For the World War II daughters, very little is explained, only 3%, by this model.

In Model 3, the family characteristics are included with the control variables, age and education. The inclusion of these variables alters the effects of education for the Baby Boom daughters in 1994, and having less education is no longer significant. In fact, for the Baby Boom Generation, there are no significant effects on associational solidarity with their mothers during midlife in 1994. For the World War II Generation daughters, the effects of age and education remain the same once the family characteristics are introduced. However, for this generation of daughters, not having

children is associated with higher levels of association with their mothers during midlife ($p<.05$). Approximately 12% of the variability in levels of association is explained for the Baby Boom daughters during midlife in 1994, and about 6% for the World War II Generation daughters in 1971.

The final model, Model 4, is the full model. With the inclusion of all of the covariates, education again appears to be significant for Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife ($p<.05$). The daughters with less education have less contact with their mothers than do those daughters with more than a high school education. Also, for the Baby Boom daughters, once all of the variables are included family measures become significant. Marital status is the first variable to emerge as significant ($p<.10$). For this generation of women during midlife in 1994, those daughters who are not married, have a higher frequency of contact with their mothers when compared to daughters who married later. In addition to marital status, not having children is also significant ($p<.10$). Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife who do not have children have lower perceptions of associational solidarity with their mothers compared to those daughters who have children. Once all of the variables are included in the full model for World War II Generation daughters, none of the effects are significant. This model is significant for the Baby Boom Generation daughters, explaining 14% of the variability in associational solidarity during midlife in 1971 ($p<.05$). It is not significant for the World War II Generation daughters in 1971, explaining 7% of the variability in the dependent variable.

Results–Effects of Daughter Characteristics on their Perceptions of Affectual Solidarity
During Midlife

Table 6.6 includes the results of all four models on the daughters' levels of

perception of affectional solidarity with their mothers during midlife. The same models

are included here as in the previous table. Model 1, inclusive of age and education of the

daughters, yields no significant findings for either generation of daughters during midlife.

Furthermore, this model has little explanatory value for the Baby Boom Generation

daughters in 1994 (3 percent), and almost no explanatory value for the World War II

Generation daughters in 1971 (1 percent).

When the work characteristics are introduced into the model in Model 2, significant

findings appear for both generations of women. The effects of age and education remain

the same for both generations of women in terms of their effect on affectual solidarity,

and are insignificant. For the Baby Boom Generation in 1994, those daughters who were

not working and therefore did not have an SEI score for occupation indicates lower levels

of affect when compared to those who had low SEI scores for their jobs ($p<.10$). For the

World War II Generation women in 1971, higher levels of income were associated with

lower levels of affectual solidarity ($p<.01$). Model 2 is not significant for the Baby Boom

Generation daughters during midlife in 1994 in explaining effects of daughter

characteristics on affectual solidarity with their mother, but explains about 8% of the

variability in the dependent variable. This model is significant for the World War II

Generation daughters, however, explaining about 7% of the variability.

In Model 3, the family characteristics have been included. For the Baby Boom

Generation daughters in 1994, the introduction of these variables changes the effect

education has on perceptions of affectual solidarity, and education becomes significant.

For this generation of daughters during midlife, having less than or equal to or less than a high school education is associated with lower levels of affect compared to those Baby Boom daughters who have more than a high school education (p<.10). For the Baby Boom daughters, two of the family characteristics have significant effects as well. Not being married during midlife in 1994 for the Baby Boom daughters yields more positive levels of association compared to those women who are married and married later (p<.10). In addition, for these daughters, not having children is associated with significantly lower levels of affect compared to those daughters who do have children (p<.01). For the World War II Generation daughters during midlife in 1971, the introduction of the family characteristics does nothing to change the effects of age or education on perceptions of affectual solidarity with their mothers. The only significant finding in this model for the World War II Generation daughters is with regard to age at first marriage (p<.10). All of the women from this generation have married by midlife, and those women who married earlier have more positive perceptions of affectual solidarity with their mothers than those who married later.

In the final model, Model 4, with all of the covariates included, significant findings emerge for both generations of daughters. For the Baby Boom Generation during midlife in 1994, previous significant findings remain significant. Those daughters with less than a high school education have lower levels of affectual solidarity with their mothers compared to those daughters with a higher level of education (p<.05). A higher SEI score for these daughters in 1994 is associated with lower levels of affect compared to those women with a low SEI score (p<.10). Finally, not having children is associated with more negative perceptions of affectual solidarity levels for the Baby Boom

daughters in 1994 (p<.01). The full model illustrates significant findings with regard to affectual solidarity among the World War II Generation daughters during midlife. In this model, age emerges as a significant variable for the first time in this model (p<.10). Older daughters among this sample during midlife in 1971 have more positive perceptions of associational solidarity with their mothers. As was the case in Model 2, income is significant for the World War II daughters (p<.01). Those with higher levels of income have more negative perceptions of affect with their mothers. Finally, as was the case in the family model, having married earlier means more positive perceptions of affect compared to having married later (p<.10).

Results–Effects of Daughter Characteristics on their Perceptions of Consensual Solidarity During Midlife

Table 6.7 illustrates the findings from all four models on perceptions of consensual solidarity. Model 1 includes the effects of age and education on the daughters' perceptions of consensual solidarity with their mothers during midlife. For the Baby Boom daughters in 1994, having less than a high school degree is associated with lower levels of consensus when compared to those daughters who have more than a high school degree (p<.05). Neither age nor education is significant in this model for the World War II Generation women in 1971. Model 1 explains 3% of the variability in levels of consensual solidarity for the Baby Boom daughters, and is significant (p<.05). This model is not significant for the World War II Generation daughters.

Model 2 adds the work characteristics to age and education. Education continues to be significant for the Baby Boom daughters in 1994 (p<.05). Lower levels of education have a negative effect on consensus for these daughters. There are no significant findings among the work variables for the Baby Boom daughters during

midlife. For the World War II Generation daughters during midlife, the inclusion of the family variables does nothing to change the effects of age or education. In addition, the family variables yield no significant results for this generation either. Model 2 explains approximately 7% of the variability in consensual solidarity for the Baby Boom daughters, and 3% for the World War II Generation daughters. The model is not significant for either generation.

The family characteristics have been included with age and education in Model 3. For the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1994, less than a high school education continues to have a negative effect on consensual solidarity with their mothers compared to the daughters with more than a high school education ($p<.05$). While age is not significant in this model, the family characteristics have changed the direction of the relationship between age and perceptions of consensus for the Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife. In this model, the older daughters have less similarity with their mothers in terms of world views. Baby Boom daughters in 1994 with no children have lower perceptions of consensual solidarity with their mothers during midlife ($p<.01$). For the World War II Generation daughters during midlife in 1971, the inclusion of the family characteristics does not yield significant findings among age and education. However, as it was for the Baby Boom Generation daughters, these characteristics change the effects of age on perceptions of consensus. While not significant, in this model, the older daughters report having more similar world views with their mothers during midlife. Age at first marriage is also significant among the World War II Generation daughter in 1971 ($p<.01$). Those daughters who married early reported more having more similar world views with their mothers during midlife

compared to those daughters who married later. Model 3 explains 12% of the variability in perceptions of consensual solidarity for the Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1994, and is a significant in explaining the effects of daughter characteristics on the dependent variable (p<.10). This model explains 9% of the variability in the dependent variable for the World War II Generation daughters in 1971, and is also significant (p<.05).

Once all of the variables have been included in Model 4, significant effects for the Baby Boom Generation daughters remain consistent with previous models. Education remains significant, with less education promoting more negative perceptions of consensual solidarity (p<.05). As in Model 3, for this generation of daughters, not having children has a negative effect on perceptions of solidarity compared to daughters with children (p<.01). For the World War II Generation daughters during midlife in 1971, none of the covariates in the full model have a significant effect on the daughters' perceptions of consensual solidarity with their mothers. The full model explains 17% of the variability in perceptions of consensual solidarity for the Baby Boom daughters in 1994, and is significant (p<.05). While there are no significant effects found among the variables in this model for the World War II Generation daughters during midlife in 1971, this model is significant, and explains 11% of the variability in the dependent variable (p<.10).

Social Difference Analyses for Baby Boom Generation Daughters and their World War II Generation Mothers During Midlife.

This section is targeted toward analyzing the effects of the differences between daughters and their mothers on the daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity. By comparing the daughters' sociodemographic characteristics in terms of education, work and family, to their mothers, several difference measures were

created. Descriptive characteristics are examined first, for differences in education, work status and SEI score for occupation, income level, marital status and timing of marriage, and children. Second, OLS regression analyses are run examining the effects of the difference measures on the three measures of solidarity.

Results – Descriptive Statistics for the Difference Measures Comprising the Independent Variables

Table 6.8 includes the descriptive statistics illustrating the difference measures for Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife and their World War II mothers during midlife. The four category, education variable shows that almost 46% of the Baby Boom daughters during midlife in 1994 have more education than their World War II Generation mothers did during midlife in 1971. Less than 3% of the mothers had more education than their daughters during midlife. Just over 4% of the dyads included daughters and mothers who both had low levels of education during midlife. Finally, a little more than 47% of these dyads were those with both daughters and mothers had more than a high school degree at midlife.

Work status and SEI score for occupation were combined, and five categories were examined and used in the analyses for this chapter. Approximately 24% of the Baby Boom daughters worked and had jobs with high SEI scores during midlife, while their World War II mothers did not work and therefore had no scores during midlife. Less than 3% of the dyads were the reverse, with mothers that worked and had high scores and daughters that did not work and had no scores. About 11% of included daughters and mothers both working during midlife, with low SEI scores. Almost 11% of the dyads were comprised of daughters and mothers that both did not work and therefore neither

had SEI scores. Finally, about 54% of the dyads are characterized by all of the other categories of SEI score and work status combinations.

Three categories of income differences are examined. For those daughters whose income levels are high and their mother's income is low, about 13% of dyads exist. Approximately 34% of the dyads are characterized by a mother with a higher income level and a daughter with a low income level. Finally, about 53% of the dyads include daughters and mothers with the same income levels.

Current marital status and timing of marriage were combined and three categories of dyads are compared. Seven percent of the dyads include those daughters and mothers who are both married, and married early. Daughters who never married and had mothers who married early comprise 21% of the dyads. Those dyads which contain all other categories of marital status and marital timing combinations, make up the remaining 72% of the pairs of mothers and daughters used in the analyses for this chapter.

With regard to having children, since the mothers are paired with the daughters already, there is no possibility that the mother does not have children. Thus, there are only two categories represented here. About 68% of the dyads are those where both daughter and mother have children during midlife. The remaining 32% are those mother/daughter pairs where the daughter does not have children of her own.

Results–Effects of Social Difference Measures on Baby Boom Generation Daughters'
Perceptions of Associational, Affectual and Consensual Solidarity with their World
War II Generation Mothers During Midlife

Table 6.9 illustrates the regression analyses used to explore the social difference variables between the Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife and their World War II Generation mothers. All of the variables are included in the model together for associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity. Turning attention to the effects of

these difference scores on associational solidarity, significant effects emerge. Work status and SEI score for occupation has a significant effect on levels of association for Baby Boom daughters during midlife. For those daughters who have mothers who work and have high SEI scores, yet they do not work and have no score, levels of association are reportedly more positive when compared to those dyads where the daughter works and has a high SEI score, and the mother does not work (p<.10). Baby Boom daughters who are among dyads where neither the daughter nor the mother works and therefore have no SEI scores also report having higher levels of association when compared to the reference group (p<.05). This model is significant, and explains 28% of the variability in associational solidarity during midlife in 1994 for the Baby Boom Generation daughters (p<.10).

Moving on to affectual solidarity, with all of the covariates included in the model, several social difference variables emerge as significant. With regard to educational differences, those Baby Boom daughters who at midlife, have mothers with more education, report more negative perceptions of affectual solidarity with their mothers when compared to daughters who have more education than their mothers during midlife (p<.10). Turning to the work status and SEI score dyads, those daughters during midlife who did not work, but had mothers who did work, and had high SEI scores reported significantly higher levels of affect compared to those daughters who worked and had high scores, and had mothers who did not work and had no score (p<.05). Differences in income were also significant. Daughters who had mothers with high incomes while theirs was low reported lower levels of affection compared to daughters in dyads where the daughters had high incomes while their mothers had low incomes (p<.10). None of

the social difference measures based on family characteristics had a significant effect on affectual solidarity for Baby Boom women during midlife in 1994. This model is significant, and about 26% of the variability in Baby Boom daughters' perceptions of affectual solidarity is explained here (p<.10).

Finally, looking at consensual solidarity, there are several significant findings. With regard to education, those dyads made up by daughters who had more education than their mothers comprise the reference group. Daughters who had mothers with more education that they did reported lower levels of consensus with their mothers than the daughters in the reference group (p<.5). Lower levels of consensus were also reported daughters in dyads where both daughters' and mothers' education was low (p<.05). The same low levels of consensus were found among daughters with higher levels of education who had mothers who also had high levels of education (p<.05). Work status and SEI score is the only other significant finding in this model. Those Baby Boom daughters who have mothers who work and have high scores, while they do not work and therefore have no score reported more positive levels of consensus compared to daughters who work and have high scores, and had mothers who did not work and had no scores (p<.01). This model is significant, and explains 35% of the variability in the perceptions of consensual solidarity of Baby Boom Generation daughters with their mothers during midlife in 1994.

Conclusions

To test hypotheses H2$_A$ through H2$_C$, four analytic steps were taken. The first step of the analysis of the daughters during midlife, a description of their sociodemographic characteristics (education, work and family) was provided. In the second step of the analysis, a description of the dependent variables – associational, affectual, and

consensual solidarity – was provided. At this time, mean differences between the Baby Boom Generation daughters and the World War II Generation daughters during midlife were presented. Third, the multivariate analyses testing the relationship between daughter characteristics on their perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity during midlife were run. Finally, the multivariate

analyses testing the effects of social distance between the mother daughter dyads, which included Baby Boom Generation daughters and their World War II Generation mothers during midlife, on the daughters' perceptions of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity. Mixed support is provided for these hypotheses.

To review, the hypotheses tested in Chapter 6 look at the effects of daughter characteristics and social distance on daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers during midlife. The first hypothesis, $H2_A$, looks specifically at the differences between the two generations of women during midlife, Baby Boom Generation daughters in 1994 and World War II Generation daughters in 1971. The second hypothesis, $H2_B$, focuses on the effects of the daughters' characteristics, those sociodemographic characteristics pertaining to education, work, and family, on the daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers. With this hypothesis, a distinction is made setting affectual solidarity apart from associational and consensual solidarity. Finally, the third hypothesis, $H1_C$, focuses on the effects of social distance between the Baby Boom daughters during midlife and their mothers from the World War II Generation on the daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers. Again, a distinction is made here which suggests that affectual solidarity will not be affected in the same ways as associational and consensual solidarity.

The first hypothesis for the midlife analysis can be examined by looking at Tables 6.2 through 6.4. Partial support is provided for this hypothesis. In Table 6.2, we can see that with regard to associational solidarity, the hypothesis is supported. Baby Boom Generation daughters have significantly weaker perceptions of associational solidarity with their mothers than do the World War II Generation daughters during midlife. Also, perceptions of affectual solidarity with their mothers are not significantly different for these two generations of women during midlife. However, with regard to consensual solidarity, this hypothesis is not supported. Table 6.4 shows that Baby Boom Generation daughters do not have lower levels of consensus compared to the World War II Generation daughters during midlife. In fact, while not significant, they have slightly more positive perceptions. However, the variability among the Baby Boom Generation daughters is much greater than for the World War II Generation daughters with regard to consensus.

The second hypothesis for the midlife analysis, $H2_A$ is not supported. By looking at Tables 6.5 through 6.7, it can be determined that daughter characteristics affect associational solidarity in ways similar to associational and consensual solidarity. Table 6.5, shows that out of the three measures of solidarity, associational solidarity is actually the least affected by daughter characteristics for these two generations of women during midlife. Model 1 is significant for the Baby Boom Generation, revealing that education level has an effect on associational solidarity during midlife. Model 4, the full model, is also significant only for the Baby Boom Generation. Education remains significant in this model, also, not being married, and not having children are also significant.

Turning attention to Table 6.6, effects of daughter characteristics on perceptions of affectual solidarity during midlife, many of the same effects emerge as significant. Model 2 is significant for the World War II Generation daughters, indicating that income level is associated with affect for this generation of women during midlife. Model 3 is significant for the Baby Boom Generation daughters. Here, both education and not being married are associated with perceptions of affectual solidarity. Finally, Model 4 is significant for the Baby Boom Generation. For this generation of daughters during young adulthood, affect is associated with education, SEI score for occupation, and not having children.

The final measure of solidarity for this midlife analysis, consensual solidarity, can be seen in Table 6.7. Model 1 is significant for the Baby Boom Generation, with education being associated with levels of consensus. Model 3 is significant for both the Baby Boom and World War II Generations of daughters. However, different covariates emerge as significant for each generation. For the Baby Boom Generation daughters during midlife, education and not having children are associated with consensus. For the World War II Generation, it is the timing of marriage. The final model, Model 4, is also significant for both generations. Again, for Baby Boom daughters during midlife, it is education and not having children that affects their perceptions of consensual solidarity with their mothers. For the World War II Generation, there are no significant covariates found in a significant model.

Support for H2$_C$ is not found. Table 6.9 reveals that social distance between Baby Boom daughters and their World War II Generation mothers during midlife is associated with affectual solidarity in much the same way as it is for associational and consensual

solidarity. Looking at Table 5.9, the models for all three measures of solidarity –
associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity – are significant. This suggests that
these social distance measures sufficiently explain variability in these measures of
solidarity during midlife.

Table 6.1. Descriptive Statistics – Demographic Characteristics of Baby Boom Daughters and World War II Daughters During Midlife.

	Baby Boom Daughters Midlife 1994 N=108			World War II Daughters Midlife 1971 N=143			
	$\bar{x}$	SD	%	$\bar{x}$	SD	%	Sig.
DAUGHTER CHARACTERISTICS							
Age (mean)	43.16	2.60		44.23	3.70		**
Education Level (%)							***
High School Degree or Less			4.70			44.1	
More than High School			95.3			55.9	
Work Status (%)							***
Works			79.6			47.6	
Does Not Work			20.4			52.4	
SEI (Occupation) (%)							**
No Job, No Score			20.4			52.4	
SEI Score is Low			35.2			18.9	
SEI Score is High			44.4			28.7	
Income-1994 Dollars (mean)	55,685	30,302		68,304	31,888		***
Current Marital Status (%)							***
Married			64.8			93.0	
Living as Married			8.3			0	
Divorced/Separated			16.0			4.9	
Widowed			2.0			2.1	
Single Never Married			8.9			0	
Age at First Marriage (%)							*
Never Married			11.2			-----	
Married Earlier			29.9			53.1	
Married Later			58.9			46.9	
Has Children (%)							**
Yes			83.3			76.2	
No			16.7			23.8	
Age at First Birth (%)							
No Children			16.6			23.8	
Had First Child Earlier			64.8			-----	
Had First Child Later			18.6			-----	

a. t-tests for significant differences of quantitative variables, chi-square for qualitative variables.

b. statistics for age at first birth for world war 2 generation daughters are not available.

Table 6.2. Baby Boom Daughters' and World War II Daughters' Perceptions of Associational Solidarity During Midlife with their Mothers.

	Baby Boom Daughters Midlife 1994			World War II Daughters Midlife 1971			
	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	Sig
Associational Solidarity	11.83	2.55	108	12.81	2.92	143	~
In Person	3.99	1.85	108	4.22	2.14	143	
By Phone	5.26	1.65	108	5.30	1.81	143	
By Mail	2.58	1.33	108	3.29	1.99	143	**

$*p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; \sim p < .10$ (approaching significance)

Table 6.3. Baby Boom Daughters' and World War II Daughters' Perceptions of Affectual Solidarity During Midlife with their Mothers.

	Baby Boom Daughters Midlife 1994			World War II Daughters Midlife 1971			
	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	Sig
Affectual Solidarity	21.21	5.12	108	22.11	5.10	143	
Closeness of Relationship	6.27	1.21	108	4.46	1.31	143	
Communication	4.05	1.27	108	4.22	1.31	143	
Get Along w/ Each Other	4.69	1.08	108	4.69	1.07	143	
Mother Understands Her	3.80	1.26	108	4.13	1.24	143	*
She Understands Mother	4.42	1.07	108	4.67	.96	143	*

$*p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; \sim p < .10$ (approaching significance)

Table 6.4. Baby Boom Daughters' and World War II Daughters' Perceptions of Consensual Solidarity During Midlife with their Mothers.

	Baby Boom Daughters Midlife 1994			World War II Daughters Midlife 1971			
	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	$\bar{x}$	SD	N	Sig
Consensual Solidarity	3.79	1.67	100	3.77	1.19	119	

$*p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; \sim p < .10$ (approaching significance)

Table 6.5. OLS Regression – Effects of Daughter Characteristics During Midlife on Associational Solidarity for Baby Boom Generation and World War II Generation Daughters.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Baby Boom	World War II	Baby Boom	World War II	Baby Boom	World War II	Baby Boom	World War II
Daughter Characteristics								
Age	.07 (.11)	.08 (.09)	.07 (.11)	.07 (.09)	.07 (.11)	.07 (.09)	.07 (.11)	.07 (.09)
Education (ref = more than high school)								
Less Than/Equal to High School	-.17 (1.82)~	-.09 (.59)	-.19 (1.88)~	-.10 (.63)	-.21 (1.91)	-.08 (.59)	-.22 (1.95)*	-.09 (.64)
Employment Status (ref = not work)								
Works	-------	-------	-.24 (.73)	-.09 (.60)	-------	-------	-.27 (.78)	.10 (.58)
SEI Score for Occupation (ref =low SEI)								
No Score, Does not Work	-------	-------	-.30 (1.55)	-.15 (.79)	-------	-------	.29 (1.62)	-.09 (.80)
High SEI Score	-------	-------	.13 (.66)	-.10 (.88)	-------	-------	.06 (.69)	-.08 (.88)
Income-1994 Dollars	-------	-------	-.11 (.00)	-.01 (.00)	-------	-------	-.12 (.00)	.01 (.00)
Marital Status (ref = married)								
Not Married	-------	-------	-------	-------	.03 (.80)	.19 (1.06)	.07 (.89)	.12 (1.15)
Living as Married	-------	-------	-------	-------	.03 (1.14)	NA	.02 (1.17)	NA
Age at First Marriage(ref =married later)								
Not Married	-------	-------	-------	-------	.25 (1.17)	NA	.23 (1.21)~	NA
Married Earlier	-------	-------	-------	-------	.10 (.71)	.02 (.65)	.09 (.72)	.02 (.66)
Has Children (ref = yes)								
No Children	-------	-------	-------	-------	-.25 (.91)	.21 (.69)*	-.26 (.95)*	.20 (.72)
Constant	8.78	9.89	9.88	10.63	9.04	8.81	10.15	9.19
R²	.04~	.02	.07	.03	.12	.06	.14*	.07

a. N= 108, Baby Boom Generation; 143, World War II Generation.

b. Standardized coefficients are presented; Standard errors appear in parentheses.

c. "Not married" is comprised mostly of "single never married" group for the Baby Boom Daughters in1994, but for the World War II daughters in 1971 this represents those not married by reason of divorce, separation or widowhood since there were no single never married women from this generation.

d. For the World War II Generation, the comparison is with those women who have children, and not the age at which they had them.

e. *p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; ~ p < .10 (approaching significance)

Table 6.6. OLS Regression – Effects of Daughter Characteristics During Midlife on Affectual Solidarity for Baby Boom Generation and World War II Generation Daughters.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Baby Boom	World War II	Baby Boom	World War II	Baby Boom	World War II	Baby Boom	World War II
Daughter Characteristics								
Age	.10 (.21)	.08 (.14)	.12 (.21)	.09 (.14)	.14 (.21)	.13 (.15)	.14 (.22)	.14 (.15)~
Education (ref = more than high school)								
Less Than/Equal to High School	-.14 (2.61)	.05 (.97)	-.13 (2.65)	.02 (1.01)	-.16 (2.73)~	.03 (.98)	-.19 (2.73)*	-.00 (1.01)
Employment Status(ref=does not work)								
Works	------	------	.23 (1.31)	-.06 (.94)	------	------	.19 (1.35)	-.04 (.95)
SEI Score for Occupation(ref=low SEI)								
No Score, Does not Work	------	------	-.37 (2.70)~	.05 (1.25)	------	------	-.36 (2.74)~	.05 (1.25)
High SEI Score	------	------	-.06 (1.23)	-.00 (1.40)	------	------	-.08 (1.32)	.03 (1.40)
Income-1994 Dollars	------	------	.13 (.00)	-.24 (.00)**	------	------	.06 (.00)	-.29 (.00)**
Marital Status (ref = married)								
Not Married	------	------	------	------	.16 (1.40)	.02 (1.85)	.12 (1.53)	-.05 (1.90)~
Living as Married	------	------	------	------	.01 (2.04)	NA	.01 (2.07)	NA
Age at First Marriage(ref =married later)								
Not Married	------	------	------	------	.19 (1.99)~	NA	.18 (2.04)	NA
Married Earlier	------	------	------	------	-.05 (1.31)	.16 (1.10)~	-.09 (1.32)	.18 (1.08)~
Has Kids (ref = yes)								
No Children	------	------	------	------	-.34 (1.61)**	.03 (1.18)	-.34 (1.64)**	.05 (1.16)
Constant	12.61	16.83	9.14	18.70	9.34	12.21	8.51	14.20
R^2	.03	.01	.08	.07~	.15*	.03	.20~	.11

a. N= 108, Baby Boom Generation; 143, World War II Generation.

b. Standardized coefficients are presented; Standard errors appear in parentheses.

c. "Not married" is comprised mostly of "single never married" group for the Baby Boom Daughters in1994, but for the World War II daughters in 1971 this represents those not married by reason of divorce, separation or widowhood since there were no single never married women from this generation.

d. For the World War II Generation, the comparison is with those women who have children, and not the age at which they had them.

e. *p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; ~ p < .10 (approaching significance)

Table 6.7. OLS Regression – Effects of Daughter Characteristics During Midlife on Consensual Solidarity for Baby Boom Generation and World War II Generation Daughters.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Baby Boom	World War II	Baby Boom	World War II	Baby Boom	World War II	Baby Boom	World War II
Daughter Characteristics								
Age	.01 (.04)	-.04 (.03)	.03 (.05)	-.04 (.03)	-.02 (.05)	.05 (.03)	.04 (.05)	.05 (.03)
Education (ref = more than high school)								
Less Than/Equal to High School	-.18 (.59)*	.11 (.22)	-.21 (.60)*	.09 (.24)	-.20 (.62)*	.08 (.22)	-.24 (.62)*	.05 (.23)
Employment Status (ref = does not work)								
Works	------	------	.22 (.28)	-.02 (.22)	------	------	.26 (.29)	.02 (.22)
SEI Score for Occupation (ref = low SEI)								
No Score, Does not Work	------	------	-.22 (.59)	-.01 (.29)	------	------	-.23 (.60)	-.03 (.29)
High SEI Score	------	------	-.13 (.27)	-.04 (.33)	------	------	-.12 (.28)	-.02 (.33)
Income-1994 Dollars	------	------	.03 (.00)	-.11 (.00)	------	------	-.01 (.00)	-.16 (.00)
Marital Status (ref = married)								
Not Married	------	------	------	------	-.08 (.31)	.01 (.42)	-.15 (.34)	-.04 (.44)
Living as Married	------	------	------	------	-.05 (.47)	NA	-.04 (.47)	NA
Age at First Marriage (ref = married later)								
Not Married	------	------	------	------	-.05 (.45)	NA	-.08 (.46)	NA
Married Earlier	------	------	------	------	-.01 (.29)	.30 (.24)**	-.05 (.29)	.31 (.24)
Has Children (ref = yes)								
No Children	------	------	------	------	-.30 (.36)**	-.03 (.26)	-.33 (.40)**	-.03 (.26)
Constant	3.64	4.31	2.93	4.59	3.80	2.60	3.28	3.03
R^2	.03*	.01	.07	.03	.12~	.09*	.17*	.11~

a. N= 108, Baby Boom Generation; 143, World War II Generation.

b. Standardized coefficients are presented; Standard errors appear in parentheses.

c. "Not married" is comprised mostly of "single never married" group for the Baby Boom Daughters in1994, but for the World War II daughters in 1971 this represents those not married by reason of divorce, separation or widowhood since there were no single never married women from this generation.

d. For the World War II Generation, the comparison is with those women who have children, and not the age at which they had them.

e. . *p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; ~p < .10 (approaching significance)

Table 6.8 Descriptive Statistics – Social Distance Among Baby Boom Generation
Daughters During Midlife and their World War II Generation Mothers During
Midlife.

Difference Variables For Daughters and Their Mothers	%
Education Level	
Daughter has More Education than Mother	45.9
Mother has More Education than Daughter	2.7
Both Daughter and Mother have a Low Level of Education	4.1
Both Daughter and Mother have a High Level of Education	47.3
Work Status and SEI for Occupation	
Daughter Works/High SEI, Mother Does Not Work/No SEI	23.7
Mother Works/High SEI, Daughter Does Not Work/No SEI	2.6
Both Daughter and Mother Work and Have Low SEI	10.9
Both Have No SEI Because Neither Work	10.5
All Others	53.9
Income-1994 Dollars	
Daughter's Income Level is High, Mother's is Low	13.2
Mother's Income Level is High, Daughter's is Low	34.2
Daughter and Mother Have Same Income Level	52.6
Marital Status and Timing of Marriage	
Both Mother and Daughter Married Early	7.0
Daughter is Single/Never Married and Mother Married Early	21.0
All Others	72.0
Children	
Both Daughter and Mother Have Children	68.4
Daughter Does not Have Children, Mother Does	31.6

Table 6.9. OLS Regression – Effects of Social Distance Between Baby Boom Generation Daughters and their World War II Generation Mothers During Midlife.

	Associational Solidarity	Affectual Solidarity	Consensual Solidarity
Difference Scores			
Education Level (ref=daughter has more)			
Mother has More Education than Daughter	-.07 (3.05)	-.12 (4.00) ~	-.27 (.83) *
Both Have Low Levels of Education	-.18 (2.55)	-.24 (3.46)	-.29 (.74) *
Both Have High Levels of Education	-.13 (.77)	-.11 (1.42)	-.26 (.29) *
Work Status and SEI Score (ref = daughter works/high SEI, mother does not work)			
Mother Works/High, Daughter Does Not Work	.24 (1.80) ~	.27 (3.36) *	.39 (.72)**
Both Work Have Low SEI	.05 (1.56)	.05 (2.53)	.15 (.45)
Neither Work and Have No SEI	.30 (1.12) *	.03 (2.16)	.11 (.45)
All Others	.00 (.77)	-.02 (1.54)	.07 (.30)
Income (ref=Daughter's Income is High, Mother's is Low)			
Mother's Income is High, Daughter's is Low	-.07 (1.21)	-.38 (2.12) ~	-.13 (.43)
Income Level is the Same for Both	.09 (1.01)	-.28 (1.83)	-.21 (.38)
Marital Status and Timing of Marriage (ref=both daughter and mother married early)			
Daughter is Single, Mother Married Early	-.19 (1.65)	.04 (2.72)	-.08 (.59)
All Others	-.14 (.86)	-.15 (1.51)	-.15 (.31)
Children (ref=both have children)			
Daughter Has No Children, Mother Does	-.12 (.75)	-.02 (1.34)	-.16 (.28)
Constant	12.80	25.93	4.77
R^2	.28~	.26~	.35*

a. N=108

b. Standardized coefficients are presented; Standard errors appear in parentheses.

c. *p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001; ~p<.10

CHAPTER 7
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of women's intergenerational relationships. Specifically, how mother/daughter relationships have been affected by the rapid social change that occurred in the second half of the twentieth century. Using Bengtson's measures of associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity as the basis for measuring the quality of mother/daughter relationships several hypotheses were tested.

Chapter three gave a detailed outline of the social structural changes that occurred in the twentieth century. As a result of these changes, it has been the case that for many women, the life course trajectories have also changed. A central expectation was that as a result of education, work, and family roles shaping different life course trajectories for women, mother/daughter relationships would be affected in various ways over the course of successive generations.

Previous studies suggest that several factors have an influence on intergenerational family relationships. The analysis in this project focuses on two specific influences: 1) the effects of daughter's individual characteristics on their perceptions of solidarity with their mothers, and 2) the differences in daughter's and mother's achievements and their effects on daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers. Using the LSOG data, several generations of women from the same families are compared in two sets of analyses, the first at the young adult life stage, and the second at the midlife stage.

The remainder of this chapter will accomplish several goals. First, a brief review, outlining the three measures of solidarity, as well as the life course perspective and the developmental schism is presented. Second, a brief discussion of the generational differences among the women, intergenerational solidarity, and social distance is presented. highlighting the major findings from this project. Next, conclusions and implications are drawn summarizing how this project contributes to the existing literature. Finally, future research in the area of women's intergenerational relationships is outlined in detail.

<center>Review of Empirical Measures and Theoretical Framework</center>

Broadly speaking, Intergenerational Solidarity Theory is a theory of aging families stemming from empirical research done on multiple generations from the same family. There are six measures of intergenerational solidarity, of which this project uses three. To review, they are associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity. Associational solidarity is the first construct, measuring the frequency of contact occurring between the different generations in a family. There are three items used to create this construct: 1) contact in person, 2) contact by phone, and 3) contact by mail. The second measure of solidarity is a construct, which measures the degree of closeness between members of different generations. This is a five-item measure that includes variables addressing the following: 1) closeness of relationship, 2) communication between the individuals, 3) how well the individuals get along, 4) how well the individual understands the other, and 5) how well the other understands the individual. Finally, the third measure of solidarity used in this research is consensual solidarity. This is a one-item measure, which accounts for a similarity of world views.

The main idea is that the stronger, or more positive the perceptions of these measures, the greater the degree of solidarity between the two generations. Several hypotheses in this study suggest that not aspects of intergenerational solidarity would be affected in the same ways. Specifically, this study hypothesized that affectual solidarity would not be influenced by social structural factors, or social distance between mothers and daughters in the same way that associational and consensual solidarity would be.

Using these three measures, this project used Fingerman's Developmental Schism as the theoretical basis for understanding women's intergenerational relationships, comparing two generations of women at different periods of time from the same life stage – young adulthood, and midlife. The Developmental Schism is a concept stemming from the life course perspective. In general, the life course perspective satisfies two key elements of family studies. These are how individuals change over time, and how their transitions and trajectories are linked across family members. Building from this, Fingerman introduced her concept, grounded in developmental psychology. Her explanations of mother/daughter relationships are multifaceted. The Developmental Schism suggests that tensions exist between generations due as a result of the different generations being at different developmental stages, and differing goals and varying needs result in different perspectives.

<div align="center">Discussion</div>

The aforementioned points form the basis for this project. This framework was not used as a formal theory. Instead it served as a guiding framework from which to inform specific research hypotheses. In turn, the results of this study provide evidence for utilizing Bengtson's measures of solidarity to analyze the effects of daughter characteristics and social distance between daughters and their mothers and perceptions

of solidarity. The life course perspective, and more specifically Fingerman's Developmental Schism, provides a unique perspective that influences this project. The next section highlights some of the important findings from the analyses in Chapters 5 and 6.

Generational Differences among the Women.

Results reveal that for the daughters in both life stages (young adulthood and midlife), generational differences exist between the women with regard to the sociodemographic characteristics pertaining to education, work, and family. Many of these sociodemographic characteristics have been impacted as a result of the social structural changes that have occurred. Thus, the changes in the larger social structure have an indirect impact on women's intergenerational solidarity, as the effect is filtered through the changes in the women's individual characteristics.

Young adulthood. For the Generation X daughters in 1994 and the Baby Boom Generation Daughters in 1971, several generational differences were found. First of all, the women in the Generation X sample were older, despite the sample selection criteria which governed the age range for young adulthood. As a result, some of the other individual characteristics may have been impacted by age. The young adult life stage is the most unstable, given that the young women during this life stage are still in the decision making phase for many of the education, work, and family outcomes. On the other hand, daughters during midlife have already "chosen" and lived out their decisions.

Educational differences were evident, with more of the daughters from Generation X in 1994, having moved beyond the minimum of a high school degree. Most of the women from both generations worked, however results from this study show that fewer daughters from Generation X in 1994 were working during young adulthood. More of

the working women from the Baby Boom Generation had high SEI scores, compared to those women from Generation X. Also, the average household income was greater for Baby Boom daughters in 1971.

Because the income measure is a household measure, differences in income between the generations is likely a result of the number of women who are either single or living with someone. If they are single and living alone, income will be lower. If they are cohabiting, income levels for individuals during young adulthood will be much lower than the income levels of their parents. Differences in timing of marriage also exist, with all of the daughters married in 1971 in this sample marrying at an age younger than the national average at the time. While few women from Generation X married older, more women from this sample in 1994 were still single.

Interestingly, while the majority of daughters in both generations did not have children as young adults, more women from Generation X had children compared to the Baby Boom Generation. This can possibly be explained by an increase in teen pregnancy in 1994 compared to 1971. Also the slightly older age of the Generation X daughters might capture some of this difference.

Midlife. Among the two generations of daughters during midlife, differences exist in terms of daughter social characteristics pertaining to education, work, and family. Again, despite sample selection criteria for those included in the midlife analysis, there is a difference in age. The daughters from the World War II Generation of women are slightly older. However, unlike the young adults, this difference will have little bearing on the outcomes of the other measures during midlife. Educational differences are most evident between these two generations, with almost all of the women form the Baby

Boom Generation moving beyond a high school degree compared to just over half of the women in the World War II Generation.

Stark differences in the numbers of women who work are also evident. Significantly more women from the Baby Boom Generation held jobs. In addition, SEI scores were also higher for the daughters in this generation. However, income levels were higher for the World War II Generation of women during young adulthood in 1971.

Some of the difference in income can likely be captured in the number of single and divorced women from the Baby Boom Generation in 1994, compared to no single and very few divorced women in 1971. In addition, there were no cohabiting daughters from the World War II Generation during midlife. Fewer women from the Baby Boom Generation married at an earlier age compared to the women from the World War II Generation, where just over half were married at an age younger than the national average at the time. Surprisingly, fewer women from World War II Generation had children by midlife.

Intergenerational Solidarity.

The first hypothesis for each of the analytic chapters centers around the differences in the daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers during the different life stages. During young adulthood, it is hypothesized that the successive generation, Generation X, will have stronger perceptions of solidarity with their mothers compared to the Baby Boom Generation. During midlife, it is hypothesized that the successive generation, the Baby Boom Generation, will weaker perceptions of solidarity with their mothers.

The second hypothesis for each of the analytic chapters has to do with the effects of the daughter characteristics on levels of solidarity with their mothers. For each life stage

(young adult and midlife) it is assumed that affectual solidarity will not be affected in the same ways that associational and consensual solidarity will be.

Measures of solidarity. Results in this study show that in fact, during young adulthood, the Generation X daughters had more positive perceptions of all associational, affectual, and consensual solidarity with their mothers. Thus, support for the first hypothesis in the young adulthood analysis is found. However, there is only partial support for the first hypothesis in the midlife analysis. Not only were Baby Boom Daughters perceptions of consensual solidarity not significantly different than the World War II Generation daughters, they were slightly higher.

Effects of daughter characteristics. There is mixed support for the hypotheses focusing around the effects of daughter characteristics on the specific measures of solidarity. In the young adult analysis, this hypothesis is supported. There are several characteristics, which emerge as having a significant effect on perceptions of associational and consensual solidarity for the daughters during young adulthood for both the Generation X and Baby Boom Generation Women. At the same time, it seems that daughter characteristics have little effect on affectual solidarity for women as young adults both in 1994 and in 1971.

However, for the women during midlife, this second hypothesis is not supported. Results from this study show that affectual solidarity during midlife is affected in much the same way as associational and consensual solidarity are. This seems to be the case for both the Baby Boom Generation and the World War II Generation daughters. In fact, during midlife, the measure of solidarity least affected by daughter characteristics among

these samples of women is associational solidarity. This appears to hold true for both generations of women.

Social distance. For each of the analytic chapters in this study involves the effects of social distance between the daughters from the successive generations and their mothers on the daughters' perceptions of solidarity with their mothers. During young adulthood, this analysis included the Generation X daughters and the differences with their Baby Boom Generation mothers. During midlife, this analysis included the Baby Boom Generation daughters and the differences with their World War II Generation mothers. These hypotheses again suggest that affectual solidarity will not be affected in the same way that associational and consensual solidarity are.

There is mixed support for this idea. During young adulthood, the third hypothesis is supported. Results from this study show that the social distance measures did not have an effect on the daughters' perceptions of affectual solidarity, while explaining significant amounts of variability in the perceptions of associational and consensual solidarity. During midlife, this hypothesis is not supported. For the daughters during midlife, the social distance measures affect all three measures of solidarity, explaining significant amounts of each. Because there was no data available on the mothers for the prior generations of women in each life stage, a comparison of social distance between the generations was not available. Thus, this hypothesis is limited.

Conclusions and Implications

Several implications are relevant to this project. In terms of academic scholarship, this research will contribute to the sociological literature of aging families in several ways. A great deal of the literature on intergenerational relationships centers around caregiving, either adult children caring for their aging parents, or grandparents as

surrogate parents (Connidis, 2001; Mills, Wakeman and Fea, 2001). It is important to understand other aspects of intergenerational relationships, both to enhance the understanding of caregiving and support, but also to uncover the qualitative dimensions central to intergenerational bonds among family members, particularly as they age. This study focuses on social and structural factors, and how they might affect these dimensions. Specifically, the perceptions of the quality of solidarity, as perceived by the daughters, as opposed to the mothers' perception of the relationship.

The "verticalization" of the family structure means that there are more generations existing in family, but fewer family members. This is a result of increasing life expectancy and the decline in fertility (Martin-Matthews, 2000; McPherson, 1998). With fewer family ties, greater emphasis is placed upon those familial relationships which do exist. Intergenerational relationships must be negotiated and renegotiated over time in order for family members to sustain these important family ties. This research focuses on the family relationship central to most women, the mother/daughter relationship.

<u>Future Research</u>

This study is the first step in a long-term research agenda that will continue to focus on the dynamics of intergenerational relationships as family members move across the life course. The next step will be to follow up this research with a qualitative study of mothers and daughters, interviewing mothers and daughters separately, as well as together as a dyad. In addition, further research will include the need to incorporate a more diverse study population. Diversity in areas such as race, the socioeconomic status of the family, and other non-traditional "family" forms.

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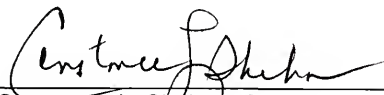
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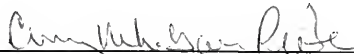
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Melanie Ann Wakeman was born in 1970, in Boynton Beach, Florida. After living in Florida, Wales, and Spain, Melanie attended and finished high school in San Diego, California. From there, she attended California State University Fullerton where she received a bachelor's degree in sociology in 1997, and a master's degree in sociology in 1999. In 2001, Melanie was awarded a predoctoral fellowship at the University of Florida Institute on Aging. This fellowship allowed her to concentrate on her research efforts, focusing on the intersections of aging, gender, and family. After completing her doctorate in sociology from the University of Florida, Melanie will begin a postdoctoral position at the University of Southern California, Andrus Gerontology Center.

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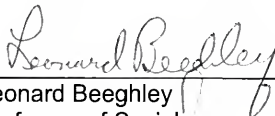
Constance L. Shehan, Chair
Professor of Sociology

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Amy Mehraban Pienta, Cochair
Assistant Professor of Sociology

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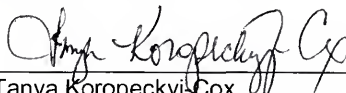
Leonard Beeghley
Professor of Sociology

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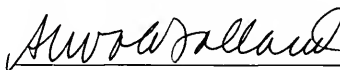
Barbara A. Zsembik
Associate Professor of Sociology

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Tanya Koropeckyj-Cox
Assistant Professor of Sociology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Angel Kwolek-Folland
Professor of History

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Sociology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 2005

Dean, Graduate School